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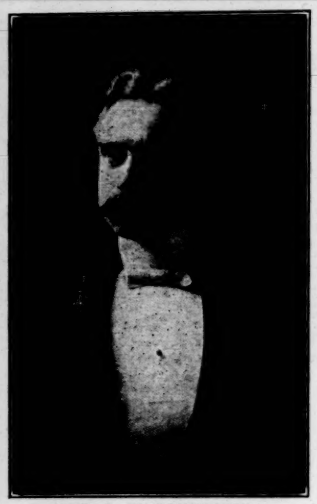

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SERVIA AND THE HOLY SEE.

THE much talked of concordat between Servia and Rome is not yet *un fait accompli*.* "Roma va sempre piano, ma sicuro." M. Vesnitch, the Servian Plenipotentiary Minister at Paris, has gone to Rome to help his friend, M. l'abbé Bucotitch, Servia's delegate at the Vatican.

At the banquet given him at Uskub after the taking of the old Servian capital in the late war, King Peter, who had the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Uskub at his right, declared that he would do all in his power for the Catholics of his newly acquired dominions. And he shortly after began the *pourparlers* at Rome for a concordat. Certain of his ministers were of the opinion that the question should wait for a few years, but the king would hear of no delay. It is said, of course, that his motive in seeking a concordat is only to withdraw his Catholic subjects from Austria's influence. That may be *one* motive, but those who know his Majesty's spirit of fairness would not grant that it is his principal one. King Peter is no bigot; few men are so large in their views. Whilst an officer in the French army his best friends were Catholics.

Most of the Servians are antipathetic to Catholics, not because they obey the Pope, but because they are Austrians! "Austrian" and "Catholic" are synonymous terms to them. Servia dislikes Austria, because the Dual Empire, since she lost, by the Peace of Belgrade in 1739, the greater part of her

* On Wednesday, 24 June, the concordat between the Holy See and Servia, consisting of twenty-three articles, was signed by His Eminence Cardinal Merry del Val, Secretary of State as Plenipotentiary of the reigning Pontiff, Pius X, and His Excellency Doctor Milenti R. Vesnitch, Plenipotentiary of His Majesty Peter I, King of Servia.—EDITOR'S NOTE.

possessions in Servia, which she had acquired by the victories of Prince Eugene and the Treaty of Posharevatz in 1718, has constantly shown that it is her desire to become again a Balkan state. "Le rêve perpetuel de l'Autriche," says Jean Pélissier in *Dix mois de guerre dans les Balkans,* "est d'arriver à Salonique", and the road thither is through Servia. "Ne faites pas la guerre, car l'Autriche en profitera pour marcher sur Salonique", said the Tzar of Russia to M. Daneff of Bulgaria, before the Balkan war. In spite of Servia's protestations, Austria in 1908-9 annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina,

> Le cœur de l'ancienne Serbie,
> Le foyer de sa vieille poésie;

and refused to allow Servia to have a port on the Adriatic.

Yet the outlook for Catholicity in Servia is good. The educated Servians are tolerant. To give a few instances of their tolerance: the late Father Willibald Czok, Catholic priest and professor at Nish for many years, was most popular there; King Milan even decorated him. Quite recently a young Catholic Servian lady was offered the chair of English Literature at the University of Belgrade. One of the present Orthodox Bishops there says that he will heartily welcome the concordat. Queen Nathalie lost none of her popularity by entering the Church.

Until the Caerularian schism, the Servians were loyal Catholics. The first great Zupan of Servia received his kingly insignia from the Pope of that period; so, too, did King Michael, the son of Stefan Voyislaff, in 1078. From 1159 to 1195 Servia was ruled by the famous Stefan Nemanya, who abdicated his throne in favor of his son, and became a monk under the name of Simeon. Amongst the earliest specimens of Servian literature is a Life of this Stefan-Simeon, written about 1210 by his son, Sabbas, Archbishop of Servia. Helena, widow of the despot Lazar Brankovich, gave Servia to Pope Pius II in 1458 in order to secure his assistance against the Turks. When Sultan Murad II heard this, he ravaged Servia in a most pitiless manner, burnt her churches and monasteries and carried off into captivity many thousands of her Christian people.

The Servian nation was drawn into the Eastern schism, most probably, by the teaching of Leo of Ochrida, who was "le bras droit de Cérulaire dans les Balkans, et l'âme du

schisme qui sépara le vaillant peuple de ces pays de leur mère la sainte Église romaine". But all did not secede. We have documentary evidence[1] that there were Catholics in Servia for many centuries after her apostasy. Archbishop Ambrose of Antivari was Apostolic Visitor of Servia in 1565, and introduced many useful reforms into that country. "Multas utiles reformationes fecit," says the document. On 14 April, 1643, the Holy See erected the archbishopric of Marcianopolis in Bulgaria, and appointed Father Marco Bandulovic, a Servian from Uskub, to be its first occupant. In the same year, Peter, Archbishop of Sofia, in Bulgaria, wrote to Propaganda: "Illmo. et Rmo. Sign. et Patrone osservantissimo. Il Mons. d'Antivari mi scrive da Ragusa, ma non mi accenna se seguitarà il suo viaggio a Roma; ma essendomi detto quando passo per Servia d'un suo prete, che Monsignore pensava d'andare a Roma, et di più di rinontiare la sua chiesa ad un certo D. Guilio *adesso suo vicario nella Servia.*" The Archbishop says that this Don Guilio "non è per questo carico", although "è persona da bene", and proposes another priest, who is "meglior conditione del predetto Guilio"; but adds that it would be well not to nominate his candidate "senza saputo et consiglio del clero e populo di Servia".

In the *Monumenta Slavorum* there is a copy of a petition that was sent to Rome in 1649 asking for the nomination of a certain Father Francesco Soimirovic to the bishopric of Prisren, in Servia. The request was granted and Mgr. Soimirovic was consecrated the following year.

A curious letter beginning "Priusvisena i pripostovana gospodo", written in Cyrillian characters, was forwarded to Rome by the Catholics of Novobredo in Servia, praying the Holy Father, Pope Innocent X, to settle a certain difficulty that had arisen there. The letter bears the date of 28 January, 1653, and was signed both in Ragusan-Servian and Italian: "figlioli in Christo li cattolici di Servia".

Peter, Archbishop of Sofia, in a document dated 24 April, 1654, testifies: "Episcopos Prizrenenses semper in loco, Serbiae, qui Monte-Novo dicitur, resedisse". The inference is clear: if there were pastors, there were necessarily people.

[1] *Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium*, Vol. XVIII, Zagrabiae, 1887.

The Catholics of Servia seemingly suffered a more bitter fate than did their brethren in Bulgaria,[2] for in the Servia created by the Treaty of Berlin, July, 1878, there was not a Catholic village left. It was different in Bulgaria. In fact, before the war of 1912 there were only about 10,000 Catholics in all Servia and they were mostly "foreigners". Now, after the war, when so much territory and so many souls have been added to the Servian kingdom, there are many. And it is because of this increase that King Peter has asked for a concordat with Rome.

Doubtless, a new hierarchy will be formed. I know that it is the intention of the Servian Government, once the concordat is concluded, to found a seminary for the training of its future clergy. According to latest reports, Austria, which had intended, as the *Echo of Paris* wrote, 10 April, "de revendiquer le droit de surveiller l'exécution" of the concordat, which would have greatly irritated the Servians, has come to understand that such a course would not be acceptable to the Catholic Slavs of the Dual Empire, and has assumed a passive attitude.

We Catholics are certain that Rome will do nothing precipitate. Unless Servia offers good guarantees for the adequate freedom of the hierarchy and the Catholic people there, she will not have her concordat.

My own opinion is that Catholics will have a fair field in Servia. The highest positions in the kingdom are open to them. Only the other day the Servian General Franassovitch, always a fervent Catholic, was buried with full military honors after a Requiem Mass in the chapel of the Austrian Legation in Belgrade. The King and the Government were officially represented at it. Franassovitch was a general in the Servian army, had held the portfolio of Minister of War and that of Foreign Affairs, and was also a plenipotentiary minister.

At present there are several Catholic youths in the military academy at Belgrade. They too will have their chance, as had General Franassovitch.

[2] "Some Notes on Christ's Church in Bulgaria," in THE ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW, October, 1913.

The first stanza of François Malherbe's beautiful ode comes to me as I finish this article. It breathes my hope to my Catholic brethren of Old and New Servia, now one:

Enfin, après tant d'anneés,
Voici l'heureuse saison,
Où vos misères borneés
Vont avoir leur guérison.

OSWALD DONNELLY, C.P.

Roustchouch, Bulgaria.

SOME RECENT LIVES OF THE POPES.[1]

Gregory VII to Leo X.

This is the second of a series of papers on the Lives of the Popes. The first appeared in the July number; the third will be published in the September number.

THERE is a certain tendency to belittle such great Pontiffs as Gregory VII. To the casual observer, measuring a work by the apparent success of the moment, he and his successor may seem to have failed in part. The profounder student, seeking in history the causes of things, recognizes that to them, under God, we owe the strength of the Church to-day in the face of the usurping world power. Men naturally like brilliant material victories; but one must not forget that the long sustaining of justice against physical force constitutes by its very persistence, notwithstanding apparent defeats, a moral victory more efficacious than any momentary triumph. History is full of splendid victories without enduring results. Crecy and Agincourt are but memories. Austerlitz and Jena were undone by Leipsic and Waterloo. If Actium and Hastings and Bouvines mark, as it is said, pivotal dates in the history of the world, this is due, not so much to the splendor of

[1] *Lives of the Popes in the Middle Ages.* By the Rev. Horace K. Mann, D.D.—B. Herder, St. Louis.

History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages. By Dr. Ludwig Pastor. English translation.—Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., London.

History of the Papacy from the Great Schism to the Sack of Rome. By M. Creighton, D. D., Bishop of London.—Longmans, Green & Co., London.

Manual of Church History. By Dr. F. X. Funk. English translation.—B. Herder, St. Louis.

Enchiridion Historiae Ecclesiasticae Universae. By P. Albers, S.J.—Benziger Bros., New York.

the achievement, as to the moral force of the steadily maintained idea preceding them, and to the equally steady development of that idea after the victory had been won. In the hands of others than Octavius Cæsar, William the Norman, and Philip Augustus, those triumphs might well have been but episodes in the long course of history; yet of them the longest result was comparatively brief. The Roman Empire perished before the date usually assigned for its fall. Norman rule in England found its term at Runnymede. The French monarchy endured for six hundred years after Bouvines, to disappear in the Revolution's blood and flame. The work of Waterloo was undone in less than fifty years. But the long contest of the spiritual order with the usurping world power has gone on unchecked by the latter's illusory triumphs. One champion after another takes up arms on behalf of the world only to disappear from the field. The Church is immortal. During all the rolling centuries she has had but one to sustain the constantly renewed attack, him against whom the gates of hell cannot prevail; and in Pius VI, Pius VII, Pius IX, Leo XIII, and Pius X, St. Peter is as vigorous as he was in Gregory VII, Alexander III, Innocent III, and Boniface VIII. Fontainbleau and the Vatican captivity are no more to be reckoned defeats than Salerno and Anagni. He is as ready for the fray in the twentieth century as in the eleventh, the twelfth, or the thirteenth. The contest will last as long as time shall last; and, when the ultimate sands of time are running out, the pontiff closing a glorious line will resign his unconquered banner into the divine hands of Him to whom the final victory is reserved.

It should be understood clearly that the war waged on Gregory VII and his successors differed not essentially from that endured by the popes of our day. When William the Conqueror pretended to exempt Battle Abbey from episcopal jurisdiction, his act came in the last analysis to the same as Napoleon's addition of his organic articles to the concordat. That William was a man of faith, a builder of churches and monasteries, while Napoleon was inclined the other way, has nothing to do with the question. Both those actions were the assertion, by the one through human frailty, by the other as a fixed principle, of the supremacy of the civil order over the

spiritual. St. Gregory defended the rights of the latter eight centuries ago and more in resisting the custom of lay investiture, just as Pius X does in condemning the *associations cultuelles* to-day. He did not destroy the evil custom. The contest continued under Urban II and Paschal II. Some Catholic writers seem to think there were really two sides to the question, assuming that, on account of their lands, bishops and abbots held the same relation to the sovereign as did the great temporal feudatories, and that they were bound to do homage for such estates. Whatever may be said regarding the reasonableness of homage given freely—and when the question was settled the Pope allowed of such—it is clear that the lands in question were granted, not to the prelates as individuals, but to the Church and to them as its representatives; and that the temporal power can have no right to feudal service from the Church. Hence, while the contest was still in its heat, the Councils of Melfi and Clermont forbade churchmen to pay homage to laymen. But princes went beyond the demand of mere homage; and in exercising their presumed rights, they restored temporalities by investing the prelates with crosier and ring, ensigns of spiritual jurisdiction. Thus arose a further presumption, that they had the right to appoint to bishoprics and abbeys; and it was followed by another, that, until the appointment had been made and the temporalities restored, they had the right to keep the revenues of the temporalities for themselves. Hence sprang two scandalous abuses, the keeping of bishoprics and abbeys vacant for years, and the simoniacal disposal of them to unworthy persons. The battle against investiture was therefore but a phase of that for freedom of election.

In laboring for a settlement of the question the Popes followed their usual practice, namely, to insist on principles, and, when these were established, to be willing to waive as far as possible their rights. Paschal II came to an agreement with Henry I of England in 1106. The King abandoned his claim to investitures and allowed St. Anselm, an exile for the cause, to return; while the Pope permitted prelates to do homage to the King. In France, a similar arrangement was made; but the dispute with the Empire was ended only in 1122 by a concordat between Callistus II and Henry V. In it the Em-

peror renounced the investitures and promised freedom of election; the Pope granted him the right to be present at episcopal elections and to confer *regalia,* i. e., whatever came to the prelate from the temporal power, by means of the sceptre, the sign of temporal jurisdiction.

The settlement was not to last. Princes asserted that the election of bishops and abbots touched them very closely. It was most important to exclude prelates who might become enemies and to include those who would prove loyal; while, from the ecclesiastical point of view, the value of having prelates acceptable to the sovereign ought to be admitted. Such reasons might be sufficient for the concessions made by the Popes in special circumstances; they are worth nothing as titles of a right. Had princes dealt simply and loyally with the Church, they would have found in the Holy See a much more efficacious guarantee of the fidelity of the bishops than in any privileges with regard to elections. But loyalty was the last thing in the mind of many a prince seeking the extension of his power. Presence at elections was a privilege granted to the emperors. It allowed them to be present in the chapter-house where such elections were usually held; and granted them a moral influence in the business, since the chapter would hardly elect one known to be displeasing to the sovereign. Soon other princes began to claim the same privilege, and even to go beyond it, calling the electors from the chapter-house to the court, where, amidst his armed men, the king would signify the one he desired to see chosen. Of them Henry II of England was a notable example. Having brought low the baronage, so contumacious under his predecessor, he determined to subdue the Church. Pretending that he was merely putting into form the customs of the realm, he drew up sixteen articles known as the Constitutions of Clarendon, and required the bishops to accept them. All who hold the Church to be practically no more than a department of the State, as is the so-called Church of England since the Reformation, cannot admire sufficiently these articles contrived so cunningly to bring about its enslavement. Those who hold the truth St. Thomas à Becket sealed with his blood, that the Church of God is a complete, universal, supernatural society established by Christ in an unchangeable constitution, and, as such, superior to any

earthly power, recognize their real character at once. In connexion with the subject we are treating the twelfth article calls for special notice. It provided that the revenues of vacant sees and abbeys belonged to the king, and that elections were to be made in the royal chapel by the chief persons of the vacant church cited to this by the king, with his consent and with the advice of those he had summoned for the purpose. No wonder St. Thomas characterized it as sacrilegious, novel, contrary to apostolic traditions, introductive of a new authority leading to schism and to the upsetting of order in Christendom, and destructive of all liberty of election! No wonder Pope Alexander III reprobated the constitutions, condemning explicitly twelve out of the sixteen.

When St. Thomas fell beneath the swords of the king's agents, Christendom could not but recoil from one who had shed an archbishop's blood in the very sanctuary; and Henry had to renounce the constitutions. He did so by word, but clung to them in heart, as did his successors. Pretending to maintain the rights of the Church against his barons in a great council at Northampton, he wrote to the Pope telling how he had managed to obtain the modification of a few minor points. This was his way of saying that he would maintain the essential articles. A few years later, with the connivance of the bishops of the province, he imposed his creature, Baldwin, on the Canterbury chapter, and obtained surreptitiously the confirmation of the choice. Baldwin conspired with him to rob the chapter of its rights by transferring his see to a church he built at Hackington, a suburb of Canterbury, an attempt renewed under Richard I by Baldwin's successor, with regard to a church he built at Lambeth. In both cases the Pope prevented the injustice, Urban II ordering the demolition of the Hackington church, and Innocent III of that of Lambeth. During John's reign Canterbury fell vacant once more. To avoid a royal nomination part of the chapter elected secretly the sub-prior, and sent him to Rome for confirmation. Hardly was this done when John came down with his nominee, de Grey, Bishop of Norwich, and forced the chapter to go through another election. Innocent III decided the question of right in favor of the chapter; but, as the sub-prior's election had been irregular, he set him aside and put Cardinal Stephen Langton in the chair of Canterbury.

Similar wrongs were committed elsewhere. We dwell upon those in England not only because of the brutal violence of its Plantagenet kings, but also because their lawlessness led up to two important events continually misrepresented by Protestant historians. John refused to allow Langton to enter the realm, and the interdict followed. For this John cared little. Innocent, therefore, pronounced sentence of deposition and entrusted its execution to France. Here we must pause to see what this deposing power was. Some dismiss it lightly, saying that, by the concession of sovereigns, it was then part of the law of nations. Now that things are changed, the concession has been recalled, and the Pope has that power no longer. The explanation is easy; it is far from convincing. It savors of the social contract never dreamed of at that time. Besides, one can hardly conceive sovereigns agreeing to grant explicitly or implicitly to anybody the right to depose them. Moreover, history is against it absolutely, showing the Popes acting in the matter by virtue of their office and of a right inherent in it. Others assume that the deposing power regarded only those sovereignties more closely connected with the Holy See, as the Empire and some kingdoms feudatory to the Roman Pontiff. But here again theory runs foul of history. The Pope's claim was far wider. In the case of John, England was not yet a feudatory kingdom; and, though Boniface VIII was prepared to depose Philip the Fair, France was never feudatory to the Holy See. Others say that the Pope deposed indirectly only. Sovereigns had their private as well as their public character. As private individuals they were subject to ecclesiastical censures like everybody else. Incurring excommunication with its consequence that they became outcasts from Christian society, they were incapable of discharging their public functions; and, should they prove obstinate, public welfare required that they should forfeit their title. What the Pope did, therefore, was to declare that, as there was no prospect of reform, the forfeiture had actually occurred, and a new sovereign might lawfully take the place of the delinquent, much in the same way as Pope St. Zacharias pronounced lawful the transfer of the Frankish crown from the Merovingians to Pepin. The theory is ingenious and might be satisfactory, were it borne out by history. But one has only to compare St.

Zacharias's answer with a formal deposition including the release of subjects from their obedience, to see it is not the true one. Nothing can be clearer than that the Pope exercised jurisdiction directly over kings as kings. In his letter to Philip the Fair, *Ausculta Fili,* Boniface VIII says, in the words of Jeremias, that he is set "over nations and over kingdoms, to root up, and to pull down, and to build, and to plant". In this he was saying nothing new, nothing that had not been said at least equivalently by his great predecessors. The state, as well as the individual, must serve God and worship Him; for it has its intelligence by which it can know God and its relations to Him, and its will by which it can perform the duties it recognizes as rising out of those relations. Christianity has been revealed by God, not as the religion of a single people, but as world wide, and enduring to the end of time. The commission, "teach all nations" is fulfilled adequately only when every nation, as a social unit, puts itself freely under the law of Christ. When this is done, all nations are united in one universal Christian society under the Vicar of Christ; and this is the adequate idea of Christendom. It is true that such a Christendom never obtained actually. Nevertheless it existed really, if only in part; and the entrance into it of one nation after another gained to Christ, added to its extent and perfected its organization. Yet the Roman Pontiff's authority in it was spiritual only. There was no encroaching on the temporal power of kings, any more than on the personal rights of individuals. For the state, as well as for the individual, the Vicar of Christ was the supreme infallible guide in faith and morals. He directed all in the right path; he recalled all who wandered from it. But as the state is for the individual, and its chief function is to facilitate according to its degree the individual's attaining of his last end, it follows that when, in the person of its supreme authority, it impedes instead of helping him, it belongs to the chief pastor to bring it back to its duty, and, if it is obstinate in its abuse of power, to proceed to remove the impediment to souls by depriving that person of the power he has abused. And this is what Boniface VIII meant in the Bull *Unam Sanctam* when he said that, though he did not seek to usurp the jurisdiction of the sovereign, nevertheless the Roman Pontiff "can take cognizance of every temporal matter and judge on the premises *ratione peccati*".

We must repeat, however, that one who would understand the matter must beware of confounding it with feudalism. Even some Catholic authors fall into this snare, and imagine that the great Pontiffs sought to introduce the feudal system into the Church. Philip the Fair, for his own ends, laid this charge against Boniface VIII, who could not find words strong enough to express his contempt for it. Feudalism was Teutonic in its origin. The Church in the organization of temporals knew nothing of it. The communities which sprang up over the ruins of the old Roman civilization and law, knew nothing of it. It was unheard of in Italy until the Empire from the north and the Normans on the south introduced it, and even then it never dominated the whole land. The Holy Roman Empire itself was not feudal in its organization, though feudalism worked eventually into parts of it. If modern writers do not understand this, the men of the time understood it perfectly. Hence, though William the Conqueror had submitted his claim to England to judgment of the Holy See, he could, nevertheless, make his famous declaration that he had not received that kingdom from the Pope. The distinction was clear in his mind. The Pope was not his feudal overlord; but he did not dream of asserting the King of England's independence of the Pope as head of Christendom. But the modern world is more interested in knowing whether the Pope claims the deposing power to-day, than how he had it in the past. The answer is clear enough. Christendom exists no longer. Individuals are Christian; the few states professing themselves such are very far from the full reality, and the modern state holds that not its least perfection is to be outside the Christian pale. With regard to all the Pope must adapt the words of St. Paul: "What have I to do with judging those without?" The exercise of the power may be looked upon, therefore, as no longer possible; as for the power itself, it cannot be destroyed. It exists essentially in the unchangeable Divine commission. Should Christendom be restored, its exercise would revive automatically. Nevertheless, the world need not take alarm. The restoration of Christendom is in the hands of governments rather than of the Church, as its formation was in the hands of the nations centuries ago. The Church may teach the will of God in the matter; the accom-

plishment of that will rests with those who may freely accept or reject it. Did they know "the things that belong to their peace", the nations would hasten to the restoration of Christendom; as long as present conditions remain, they shall hear nothing of the deposing power.

John gathered his army to withstand the French. Perceiving, however, that it would hardly support a prince under papal sentence, he resolved to submit, and sent to fetch the legate. Kneeling at his feet, his barons standing by and approving, he undertook to receive the archbishop and to repair the wrongs he had done the Church. Then, putting off his crown, he received it again as a vassal of the Holy See. Protestants have no words to express their horror of this act; John's contemporaries viewed it in a very different light. Subjection to superiors was no disgrace in their eyes. To become voluntarily the feudatory of one's equal would indeed have been held a disorder; but to be feudatory to Christ's Vicar was a very different thing. Not only was it honorable, but it was useful too; as is seen in the case of the King of Scotland pleading his vassalage to the Roman Pontiff as a protection against the violence of the English Edward I. But John had no intention of keeping his word; and soon his faithlessness allied barons and bishops against him under Langton himself. Langton had been very close to Innocent III, and one may assume that his appointment to Canterbury meant his full agreement in the Pope's ideas concerning John's tyranny. Innocent, therefore, annulled the charter extorted from the king at Runnymede, only because of the unlawful way it was obtained. As head of Christendom, he must defend public authority against violence; as liege-lord of John, he must defend his own rights to have the matter brought before him personally. That the charter itself was not displeasing is clear; because the charter granted in the following reign—the real Magna Charta; for, contrary to popular ideas, John's was never operative—was practically in the same form as that of Runnymede, and its granting was brought about by the papal legate. This disposes effectually of the absurd idea fostered by Church of England apologists, that the first article guaranteeing the liberty of the Church and freedom of elections was aimed at the Pope's supremacy. The whole long struggle had been against royal aggression.

It must be observed that there is an essential difference between the action of the temporal power with regard to the Church and its temporalities, and that of the Holy See in demanding annates, in granting expectancies regarding benefices. The former was a usurpation pure and simple; the latter was at its worst only an abuse of legitimate power. By annates, are understood the payment of the first year's revenues of a benefice to the Holy See; by an expectancy, or provision, is meant the appointment of a successor to a benefice during the lifetime of its holder. Apart from the fact that, as the head of the universal Church, the Pope has such dispositions in his power, it is also true that every country within the pale of Christendom is obliged in justice to contribute its share to the cost of the general administration of the Church. We will grant that the method of annates and provisions had its drawbacks, that it was sometimes pushed to extremes and so became a heavy burden. But we must point out also that it was the direct consequence, not of Papal greed, as so many pretend, but of the general cause of all ecclesiastical evils, the intrusion of the world power. It began with one of the greatest of the Pontiffs, Alexander III, reduced to absolute poverty by Frederick Barbarossa and his antipopes; it came to its height during the Avignon exile. For the rest, though bishops protested against the abuse, they did not deny the Pope's right in the matter, an important point to remember, since much is made of that fact, and though sovereigns legislated against it, their laws, as contrary to the sense of Christendom, remained a dead letter. Indeed, when it suited them, they were quite ready to apply for provisions on behalf of their favorites.

Toward the end of the thirteenth century the warfare of the world power against the Church took on a somewhat new form. Philip the Fair of France and Edward I of England tried to establish the principle that ecclesiastics must contribute to support the state just as laymen did. Had they succeeded, they would have given the supremacy of the civil power a definite legal form; consequently Pope Boniface VIII withstood them firmly. Since the Battle of Bouvines, 1214, absolutism had been growing in France, and Philip carried things with a high hand, assuming the right to appoint and deprive prelates, to appropriate revenues of vacant sees and abbeys, and to levy

contributions on ecclesiastical goods at pleasure. In England during the same period the parliamentary system had begun in a rudimentary way; and Edward, though he did not hesitate to use the old methods when he could, relied chiefly on forcing the Church to grant him aids; that is to say, to vote him from time to time a certain part of ecclesiastical revenues. It must not be supposed that Boniface wished churchmen to deal illiberally with the sovereign. He was contending for principle, not for wealth. The Church is a complete society and therefore it had the disposal of its own revenues. Out of them it had to provide for many expenses belonging to its own order. Nevertheless it had always been ready to contribute freely to the royal needs. In 1296 Boniface published the Bull *Clericis laicos,* forbidding not only princes to levy contributions on the goods of the Church, but also clerics to grant them without permission of the Holy See. Philip retaliated by forbidding the export of gold, silver, and jewels from his realm, thus depriving the papal court of its revenue from France. Edward was constrained to submit. Winchelsey, Archbishop of Canterbury, who, like his predecessor, Peckham, had maintained the cause of the Church, recognizing the king's real need, led the prelates to vote him a free aid of one-tenth of their income; and informed the Pope that urgency had compelled action, that they had interpreted his will, and that, if they had gone beyond it, they submitted themselves to him for correction. Boniface replied that he had never intended to condemn customary aids, nor would he forbid extraordinary aids when needed for the defence of the realm. This answer was extended afterward to France and the rest of Christendom. It was not the aid the Pontiff reprobated, but its lawless exaction. It is surprising, therefore, to find Catholic historians seeing in that explanation a virtual retraction, and recording it with apparent satisfaction as the beginning of the downfall of the Papacy from its high place under Innocent III. This came simply from the refusal of due obedience, which was caused by the obscuring in the public mind of the papal prerogative. This meant the germinating of the seeds of heresy sown by the world power during its long rebellion. One can reconcile isolated acts of injustice against the Holy See with a real belief in its divine mission; not so, a lifelong

succession of such. It has been said very well of the German princes of the Reformation, that they did not become Protestants through the theology of Luther and the other reformers. Falling out with the Emperor, to show their enmity they began to favor heretics; then, going a little further, they began to talk heresy. Thus they corrupted their faith, and soon the prospect of despoiling the Church made them formal heretics. Frederick Barbarossa, Henry IV, Philip the Fair, and others of the kind lived only to oppress the Church, to persecute the Pope and the prelates faithful to him, to set up antipope after antipope, to falsify papal documents, to impose unworthy pastors; and it was impossible for them, through such a career of practical infidelity, to preserve any real faith. Their nobles, walking in their footsteps, had the same unhappy fate. This, then, was the true beginning of the weakening of the Holy See. As for Boniface VIII, the Church of God owes him an endless debt of gratitude for the *Clericis laicos* and the *Unam Sanctam* and for his courage in defending, under such impending evils, the rights of the Holy See. He handed on the tradition of the true pontiff, to strengthen even the Popes of the Babylonian captivity; and, humanly speaking, to him they owed it that, notwithstanding weaknesses, they never betrayed the essential rights of the Church.

Others allege the corrupt morals of the clergy as a cause of the decline in question. It may have been so. But again, whatever this corruption was, it was due to the tyrannous world power, not to the legitimate, if splendid, elevation of the Holy See. Gregory VII, Alexander III, Innocent III, Boniface VIII did not of set purpose put wolves over the Lord's flock. This was the work of princes, kings, and emperors with their lay investiture, their regalia, their violation of free election, their antipopes, all their contrivances for the enslavement of the Church, which the Church survived only because she is a Divine creation. With some the proclaiming of that corruption is held to be the mark of the impartial historian. They forget that the investigation of it in its particulars is a task undesirable in itself, but forced on us by the enemies of our religion, who think to find in it effective weapons. It would be a great mistake to imitate some earlier historians and attempt a general and unnecessary whitewashing. But to inves-

tigate the evil is properly the work of a few. We must therefore be grateful to Pastor who, in addition to his other merits, has this that he has performed in a truly Catholic spirit the ungrateful task with regard to a period most frequently attacked. On the other hand, one should beware of historians who are not Catholics, whatever may be their profession, or even their desire of impartiality. One holding the opinion that the revolution of 1688 introduced no change into the constitutional status of the king of England could hardly write a trustworthy history of the constitution during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. So too one maintaining that the papacy is a human institution is unable to write a history of the Popes. Notwithstanding their good desires each will be swayed necessarily by his preconceived error, praising where he should blame or blaming where he should praise, and finding constantly imaginary confirmation of his false principle. In the matter of corruption in churchmen the ordinary writer may well follow older lines. Catholics have never denied that human evils have always existed in the Church. They did not take, it is true, much interest in them otherwise than as showing how the Church, stainless in herself, can live vigorously her divine life, notwithstanding the wickedness of some of her children in even the highest stations. They were more concerned with the fact, almost miraculous, that side by side with great corruption were found the greatest marvels of sanctity. If it was true before the Christian era that God did not " leave Himself without testimony, doing good from heaven ", it is so, and in a still higher degree, during the Christian dispensation. It may be granted that the general morals of ecclesiastics are better to-day than in the thirteenth century; we have not to-day a St. Francis, a St. Dominic, a galaxy of great saints such as adorned that age. This, we think, is the true fundamental idea of ecclesiastical history, and it cannot be presented too often. Moreover, in admitting scandals the historian must never hesitate in assigning them to their true cause. To the world power that taunts him with them he must say boldly: " Thou art the man ". To use an undue complacency toward it, to acknowledge the evil without fixing the blame adequately, would be treasonable. No one would take off his hat to the corrupter of sister, wife, or mother, and say:

"I am one who puts sincerity before everything else. I have looked into the affair, and I have to admit with deep regret that her conduct has been most disgraceful." He would say rather: "It is not for you to bring an accusation. Whatever she is, you have been the cause of her ruin." To act otherwise would be not only cowardly and treacherous, but also, the blindest insincerity. With all respect we take the liberty of saying that some of our modern historians have, we think, not been as careful of this principle as they might have been. We should be glad to be proved in the wrong.

At the end of the twelfth century appeared the Albigenses and the Waldenses. The former, though they took their name from the town of Albi in Southern France, were a Manichean-Gnostic sect that found its way into Europe from the East. This, therefore, could not be called strictly a heresy, but rather an anti-Christian religion. Its chief seat was in the county of Toulouse, where, as milder methods proved unavailing, it was at length put down by force. Whether it was extirpated is another question. It seems that the Manichean-Gnostic doctrine, as the particular antithesis of Christianity, has been maintained by the prince of darkness to break out from time to time in new anti-Christian sects, such as the so-called Christian Science of to-day. The Waldenses, taking their name from Waldo, a Lyons merchant, had their origin in an exaggerated notion of evangelical poverty, which they changed from a counsel of perfection into an essential condition of the Christian profession. Hence they set themselves in opposition to the Church and its prelates, and assumed the right of preaching to propagate their errors. It was not long before they became tainted, especially in their inner organization of the perfect, with Albigensian doctrines, and were condemned by the Holy See not only in themselves, but frequently in company with those sectaries. Those who lived in the valleys of Savoy invented the fable that they were the descendants of early Christians who withdrew thither when the Roman Church became rich, and therefore apostate, through the favor of Constantine. As their system of doctrine was dangerous to the State, this dealt with them severely. However, their doctrines spread, and it is extremely probable that Lollardism borrowed something from them.

This heresy began with John Wyclif in England during the fourteenth century. His first attack was on the possessions of the Church and the religious orders, and like the Waldenses he organized on his own authority bands of poor preachers. He soon went on to attack the hierarchy, and, as a necessary consequence, the sacraments and ecclesiastical jurisdiction. His principles were peculiar. We have seen that feudalism had nothing to do with the development of ecclesiastical authority, and that those who use it to attack the deposing power as exercised by the Popes in the ages of faith fall into a serious error. Wyclif, on the contrary, based his theories on feudal notions. According to him prelates and pastors were God's men, holding to Him the relation the vassal held to his feudal chief. If the vassal proved false to his liege lord, all his relations with his own dependents were dissolved, as they were bound to him only as he was bound to the suzerain of all. Hence Wyclif taught that a prelate who proves false to God by grievous sin, loses his jurisdiction over the flock of Christ; and consequently only those were legitimate who were in a state of grace. As this fact could not be known, all ecclesiastical authority must necessarily perish. Moreover, he went to the further conclusion, that it was impossible for the traitor to God to do anything validly in His name. Hence the ecclesiastic in a state of sin could do nothing by virtue of his sacerdotal character. He could neither ordain, not consecrate, nor absolve, nor baptize. Hence, as a logical consequence, the whole visible Church fell to pieces, and man was left to his own inward light and his own interpretation of the Scriptures. At first Wyclif found supporters even in the University of Oxford. The political ambition of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, led him to throw his influence in favor of the heretic, and defend him against the condemnations coming even from Rome itself. Later the University abandoned him. His errors were condemned, and some of his followers were compelled to recant. The favor of the Lancastrian party, however, saved the chief heretic, who retired to his parish of Lutterworth under promise not to preach; and there he perished miserably by sudden death.

His errors, however, could not be confined within the limits of the spiritual order. The principle, "Dominion is founded

in grace" was extended by his followers to the temporal order, and soon began to produce its natural fruit. The Black Death had devastated the land in the middle years of the century; and when it passed, the laboring class took advantage of the lack of tillers of the soil to demand exorbitant wages, and to refuse to work on any other conditions. The civil power, compelled by the needs of the time, passed the Statute of Laborers, requiring, under severest penalties, all less than sixty years of age to serve, first their lords, then any who might demand their services, at the wages customary before the plague. It also forbade craftsmen to demand more for their labor or their skill than they had received before the plague broke out, and commanded all victuallers to sell at reasonable prices. It was a hard measure, and the peasants were not in the mood to bear it. The spread of Wyclifite doctrine increased their discontent. On the other hand, the landowners were rigorous. Many villeins had withdrawn themselves from their class and had lived as freemen for years. The landowners, needing labor for the soil, had the status of such examined, with the consequence that these were reduced to villenage, and we may presume that, under the circumstances, some were so treated who had gained their freedom lawfully. When, therefore, John Ball, a Wyclifite preacher, carrying his master's doctrines to their last conclusion, went about preaching communism and the absolute equality of all men, there were thousands ready to hear him. The Peasants' revolt was the result.

Wyclif is called by many of the Church of England, the "Morning Star of the Reformation", because they find him denying the supremacy of the Pope and the Catholic doctrine of the Sacraments. Did they know his principles, as we have pointed them out, and the frightful lengths to which he pushed his rigid predestinarianism, they would see that he might be called more reasonably the precursor of the Brownists, the Fifth Monarchy Men, and other fantastic English sects. Anyhow, the Wars of the Roses intervened between his day and the Reformation; and Englishmen had other things than doctrinal disputes to think about. The marriage of Richard II to Anne of Bohemia brought about considerable communication between England and that country, which resulted in the

transferring of Wyclif's doctrines thither. It was from thence that they came to influence the Reformation in Germany, and so came back to their native land. There John Hus took up Wyclif's principle, dominion is founded in grace, and pushed it to extremes. To him Protestants owe the formal definition of the Church as the universal congregation of the elect, and its consequences that the elect, whatever their lapses into sin, do not fall from Christ, since their absolute antecedent election, their formal bond of union with Him, remains unchanged; while others, though they live in the state of grace according to "present justice", are always separated from Christ. The result of such doctrines is plain enough. The Hussite teaching was connected closely with a revolutionary movement for the independence of Bohemia; and when this failed the doctrines lost much of their importance except as regards the influence they were to have on the coming Protestantism. Hus himself was called before the Council of Constance to give an account of his doctrine, and, proving obstinate, was put to death. The Emperor Sigismund had given him a safe conduct to go and return; and his execution, notwithstanding, is made much of by our enemies as an application of the principle they choose to attribute to the Church, that faith need not be kept with heretics. They do not perceive that the Emperor's safe conduct could bind his own officers only, and that the Council was necessarily independent of it, inasmuch as it was in no way subject to imperial authority. Indeed, this was the last thing that could be admitted by an assembly pretending to be superior to the Holy See.

In this brief survey we have chosen those things to dwell on which, one way or other, are more closely related with modern problems. We cannot close, therefore, without a word on the sojourn of the Popes in Avignon, and the Renaissance. The former, brought about by Philip the Fair, as part of his scheme for French supremacy in Europe, had its consequence in the great schism. One should not accept indiscriminately all that has been said about the evils of the Babylonian Captivity, as the Italians called it. Naturally they were partisans, and ready to view in the worst light all that took place at Avignon. Probably none of the Popes of the time was weaker than Clement V, with whom the exile began. Yet he was very far

from being a mere puppet in the hands of Philip. Indeed history keeps before us the wonderful fact that no matter who, or what, or where he is, the Vicar of Christ can never forget his high dignity and its consequent obligations. But the essential evil of the Avignon exile was the intrusion of the world power into a sphere not its own, just as it had been the evil of the Tusculan domination and the imperial oppression. If the Avignon court was baronial rather than ecclesiastical, if it was at once avaricious and luxurious, the blame must fall in the end upon the world power which corrupted it. Yet these were not the chief evils of the time. Before all was the attack of that world power on the independence of the Holy See. Though a St. Gregory VII has been in Avignon, the Christian world could not have been content. It was not meet that the universal father should be under even the shadow of the domination of the French king. All this should be considered carefully by those who think the present Roman question easy of solution.

The Renaissance is one of those things on which opinions are generally sharply divided. The irreligious praise it blindly; too many good Christians condemn it vigorously. These should distinguish. The fact is that the revival of letters brought out once more that within the pale of the Church lurks ever the evil spirit waiting the opportunity to set up false corrupting doctrines against the Gospel. "The enemy came and oversowed cockle." Gnosticism was at work in the Apostolic age; and from that time to this it has reappeared under various forms down to the Masonry of our own day. Hence when the classical learning was brought into Europe there were many ready to accept it, not as a thing to be purified by Christianity and so subjected to Christ, but as a restoration of the true light that Christianity had obscured for ages. Hence there were two types of humanists, the pagan and the Christian. The former had for patrons princes such as Alfonso of Naples and the Medici in Florence; the latter was fostered by the Catholic Church. Some will point out that the distinction was not clear-cut. This is not altogether true. The world knows too well its own. It can tell us all about the pagan humanists and those, not entirely pagan, whom they infected, reasoning about them as if the Church were responsible for

their moral deficiencies. It will point to Leo X in the chair of Peter. We could, of course, vindicate that pontiff against many accusations. Let us, however, for the sake of argument, omit doing so. Let our enemies say their worst, and we return to the solid principle with which we set out: To the scoffing world we reply that it may not triumph because of any stain it may find on that which is merely human in the Catholic Church. When we seek the cause of such stains we come back invariably to the corrupting world, crying to it again and again: "Thou art the man". Had there been no Lorenzo de'Medici there would have been no Leo X. But when all is said and done we can draw from the records of the Catholic Church, a Christian, even a saintly humanist, for each pagan, or tainted name the world sets out with so much arrogance; and when the task is finished we shall have a number left, whom the world does not want to know, to be the glory of Christian scholarship.

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EUGENICS AND MENTAL DISEASES.

THERE seems to be an impression abroad that in Eugenics we have a panacea for mental diseases; and in consequence, many well-meaning people advocate extraordinary interference with the inalienable rights of man for the purpose of preventing those diseases. The right of reproduction, as sacred as the right of life, is ruthlessly taken away from helpless people by legal enactment upon a theory of heredity of mental diseases, without serious inquiry as to whether such a theory has any foundation in fact. The most lamentable part of it all is that these radical measures are brought forward and carried into execution before we know anything worth while either about Eugenics or mental diseases.

Literally, Eugenics means "good birth". Sociologically, as an art and science for the improvement of the human race, it has been defined by the Eugenics Education Society of England as "the study of agencies under social control that may impair or improve the qualities of future generations either physically or mentally".

The work of the Augustinian monk Mendel forms the scientific foundation of Eugenics. The sum and substance of Mendel's work is that parents transmit their qualities to offspring in definite ways out of which certain laws may be formulated. These laws are: (1) that of dominancy; and (2) that of recession. According to the law of dominancy, a pronounced quality or characteristic in either parent will show itself in all of the second generation and in one-fourth of all future generations; whilst, according to the law of recession, there remains latent in the second generation the characteristic or quality opposed to the dominant characteristic or quality in three-fourths of the offspring, in one-fourth of which it will always recur in subsequent offspring and two-fourths of which it will recur in the same proportion as the dominating quality.

Sir Francis Galton, a contemporary of Mendel, is really the father of Eugenics in the modern sense and it was he who coined the word. At present, many people are interested in it and it has become a fad among intellectual people. In 1912, an international congress for its discussion and elucidation was held in London at which many bright people vied with each other to show the world how little is known upon the subject. Had we no other reason for being cautious about enacting laws for the restriction of reproduction, we would find it in ample abundance in some of the views which were expressed at that gathering.

Under the term "Mental Diseases" is included a great many conditions, probably everything in mentality which deviates from the normal. In a broad way, mental abnormalities are classified under two headings, amentia and insanity. Amentia, derived from two Latin words (*a* from, and *mens* mind), is used to cover such conditions as imbelicity, feeble-mindedness, and idiocy; whilst insanity embodies the idea of loss of reason from accident or disease. Both words are used arbitrarily without scientific foundation.

There is no scientific evidence that imbecility, feeble-mindedness, and idiocy are fundamentally different from insanity. The former are said to be due to an arrested development of the brain, and the latter to disease or injury. That the arrested development of the brain has not been due to disease or injury, or even that imbecility, feeble-mindedness, and idiocy

are always the result of arrested development of the brain, has not been proved. In truth, we know very little accurately and definitely yet about mental abnormalities and their causes.

It is because the heredity of mental diseases has been believed by the world that the eugenist has jumped to the conclusion that he has a cure for them. He is logical enough when he says that, if amentia and insanity are hereditary, we can stamp them out by sterilizing the men and women who are suffering from them. As he is not responsible for the premises of his syllogism, we can forgive him for his false conclusions, but we must not permit ourselves to be drawn into a sociological blunder by a division of responsibiltty for an error. Without conceding that sterilization would be the proper remedy for the prevention of mental diseases even if they were hereditary, the point whether they are hereditary should certainly be settled first.

So far as I know there is not a scintilla of scientific evidence to prove that they are hereditary. Physical inheritance may be defined as the derivation of something inherent and intrinsic in the primary cell by the offspring from the parent. Adami says: "That alone is inherited which is the property of the individual at the moment of his becoming an individual, which is part and parcel of the paternal and maternal germ plasm from which he originates or is provided by the interaction of the same." No other view of the subject can be squared with our knowledge of biology. Whatever comes to the offspring extraneous and extrinsic to the primary cell is essentially an acquisition from contact, nutrition, or mechanical interference. It makes no difference whether the acquisition is made during ante-natal or post-natal life, it cannot be set down in the category of inheritances.

It is true that the normality, the vigor, and the healthfulness of the parent influence the normality, the vigor, and the healthfulness of the primary cell, but a defective primary cell, whilst it may lead to inviability and even to deformity, cannot give rise to the conditions which are known as diseases. Moreover, defectiveness in the primary cell does not arise from an inherent quality of the parent but from malnutrition, from sexual wastefulness, or from a disease which affects either all the cells of the body or the cell-making function of the body.

None of these fundamental causes of defectiveness can be dealt with in a general way by a general rule of action, since each is individual in some particular person and can only be dealt with in that person. Alteration of form cannot be transmitted except in so far as it is physiological; and physical deformity due to nutritional or organic causes may occur in the offspring of the best-formed parents.

The last word in scientific medicine seems to indicate that the conditions which we call diseases, in whatever part of the body they may occur, are due either to the action of micro-organisms, to malnutrition, or to physical injury. Whatever the cause, they fall outside of the category of inheritances under the laws of biology.

Are amentia and insanity diseases? If they are not diseases, what are they? In the light of our present knowledge, it would certainly be difficult to give a rational explanation of them upon any other hypothesis than that they are diseases. Moreover, we have now at our command scientific data which fall little short of proving that they are diseases.

In that most valuable report of Dr. H. J. Sommer, Jr., on 1,180 post-mortems of the insane at the State Hospital for the Insane, Norristown, Penna., there are accurately recorded many facts which point unmistakably to the conclusion that amentia and insanity are diseases. The records are not quite complete, as in many of the cases the tissues and membranes of the brain were apparently not studied. In all except seventeen cases, however, an histological study of the important organs of the body was made and in 842 of these cases a thorough study of the membranes of the brain was made. In all of the cases in which there was a record, 1,163 in number, a change in one or more of the serous membranes of the body was recorded, and in the 842 cases in which the brain had been examined, there was either chronic leptomeningitis or pachymeningitis or both. It may be worth while mentioning here for those who are not familiar with technical terms that leptomeningitis and pachymeningitis mean a change in the inner and outer membranes of the brain respectively, due usually to the action of micro-organisms or the toxines of micro-organisms inhabiting the brain or its membranes or important organs of the body. Most of the cases had one serous mem-

brane of the body affected; a great many had tuberculosis; some had cancer; and a great many had nephritis. The serous membrane lining the inside of the heart was quite commonly affected. As the kidneys are chiefly concerned with the elimination of toxines from the body, the frequent breaking-down of these organs in mental diseases is in itself ground for suspicion that toxines in some way are responsible for the conditions.

Dr. D. J. McCarthy's work at the Henry Phipps Institute also throws some light upon the cause of insanity, showing that the toxines which come from tuberculosis, whether from the tubercle bacillus itself or from the micro-organisms which are associated with it, set up changes in the membranes of the brain and in all probability cause insanity. In an histological study of 287 brains of people who had died of tuberculosis, he found acute leptomeningitis 17 times, sub-acute leptomeningitis 94 times, and chronic leptomeningitis 49 times. In his clinical study of the cases he found a change in mentality in a great many patients, which in quite a number amounted to insanity.

In the 1,180 cases reported on by Dr. Sommer, 49 were cases of amentia, and of these, 44 were cases of imbecility and five of idiocy. The same changes in the serous membranes existed in these cases as in the cases of insanity and they were the same in the youngest as in the oldest. In a female idiot of twenty months, there was leptomeningitis and pachymeningitis and there was chronic inflamation of the inside lining of the heart. In an imbecile girl twelve years old, there were chronic pachymeningitis, chronic changes in the valves of the heart, with chronic changes in the liver, kidneys, and spleen.

Admitting that it has not been proved that the changes in the membranes and tissues of the brain and in other serous membranes are the cause of amentia and insanity or even bear any causative relationship to it, the existence of these changes in all cases of amentia and insanity and their absence in the majority of people who die from other diseases, give us a working hypothesis and throw serious doubt upon the theory of heredity. To say the least, these findings remove all doubt as to these conditions being diseases.

A micro-organic origin of mental diseases would be more in harmony with what is now definitely and accurately known about disease generally than is heredity, and it would not come in conflict with biology, as heredity does. The theory of the heredity of disease is gradually crumbling away in the light of our knowledge of bacteriology and it is daily becoming more evident that even the transmission of such borderland conditions as night-blindness, color-blindness, albinism, etc., will have to be reconsidered. All of these phenomena can be better explained upon the hypothesis of micro-organic action than upon that of heredity. The micro-organic theory would even explain the phenomena of heredity better than heredity can.

With the heredity of mental diseases in doubt, there is no reason for sterilizing people who suffer from these conditions; and it is therefore unnecessary to weigh the prospective good that might come from sterilization against the prospective evil which would come from it. The burden is upon those who advocate extraordinary measures to prove that such measures are justifiable.

Does Eugenics offer us anything for the prevention of mental diseases? Yes, but not by way of sterilization. We can improve future generations by preserving those who now exist as normal human beings and guarding them against degeneracy. For this purpose, we must keep in mind the fundamental principles underlying reproduction: (1) that like produces like; (2) that the quality of offspring may be raised or lowered by nutrition; and (3) that the primary cells which unite to form a new being may be influenced by both the physical and moral life of the parents.

In the interest of Eugenics we must improve the conditions of life; we must make it possible for each human being to earn his daily bread without more exertion than is consistent with good health; we must so enlighten the people that they will live as human beings in harmony with the great God of the universe; and we must seek to meet the difficulties and solve the problems which come with an artificial life. Civilization brings its burdens as well as its pleasures and its enjoyment. Living in houses close together in vast numbers brings us many pleasures both physical and intellectual, but it also ex-

poses us to diseases and leads us into evil ways. Science, art, and organization must protect us against the diseases, and religion must keep us in the right path.

For good progeny we must lead clean, healthy lives under sanitary conditions in a good moral atmosphere. We must have healthy food; we must have light, airy, well-drained houses; we must have broad, clean streets; we must protect our women and children against excessive hours of labor and against labor at improper times and periods. We must get for the working man a living wage; we must discourage the excessive use of alcohol and tobacco; we must protect our young people against the insidious, pernicious influence of open vice; and we must encourage simplicity and discourage ostentation. Let us talk less about the moron and the helpless victim of poverty and more about the Christian hero and the reward of patient struggle against difficulties.

By all odds the most important factor in Eugenics is purity. Sexual dissipation causes degeneracy in the offspring, whereas chastity and continency exercise a building-up influence. Foerster, one of the greatest living sociologists, a Protestant, tells us that the celibacy of the Catholic priests and sisters is one of the greatest influences for good progeny in the world at the present day because it keeps before the world in concrete form the great heroic virtue of chastity. Whatever upholds morality undoubtedly makes for good progeny, and whatever breaks down morality leads to degeneracy.

The influence of Eugenics for the prevention of mental diseases may be exercised through legal enactment in those matters which have to do with better food supply, better housing, and better sanitary conditions, but will have to be reached through religion in those matters which depend upon moral uplift. Sterilization of those suffering from amentia and insanity can lead nowhere because it applies the remedy at the wrong end. It seeks to cure an evil by eliminating the result rather than the cause. Moreover, sterilizing the imbecile and feeble-minded would undoubtedly throw into society another element of moral degradation, which in the end would lead to more degeneracy.

Segregation of the feeble-minded and of all those who are suffering from amentia of any kind is not only justifiable but

is a duty. Reproduction by these people should be prevented in this way, not because they would transmit their disease to their offspring but because they cannot give a proper environment to their offspring for development into good citizenship. Society has a right to protect itself against pauperism and crime as well as against disease.

In this connexion it will not be untimely nor out of place to utter a word of warning to overzealous workers in the field of prevention of social diseases. Knowledge alone will not protect against these diseases and knowledge without religion may lead to sexual profligacy as well as these diseases. The sane method of preventing these diseases is to register them, open our hospitals to them, and require everyone who contracts them to recover completely before exercising the right of manhood and womanhood. Let there be more candor and openness among those who have the diseases and less talk to the innocent who know nothing about them and who are entitled to protection without shock to their sense of modesty and decency.

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THE RELIGIOUS ELEMENT IN THE LABOR PROBLEM IN MEDIEVAL TIMES.

WE often hear it said that the condition of the worker in the Middle Ages was far preferable to that of the modern worker. The former, it is said, was more secure and better satisfied with his condition than the latter. Those who indulge in comparisons of this kind usually emphasize the strong points in the economic institutions of the Middle Ages and the weak points in our modern system. They compare the unskilled workers of our time with the typical serfs and handicraftsmen of the Middle Ages. These, of course, were not by any means the weakest classes in the Middle Ages, and it is therefore unfair to compare them with modern unskilled workers. The people with whom the serfs and craftsmen of the Middle Ages should be compared in our modern society are the peasant proprietors and skilled workers. The Middle Ages had its weak class just as our age has. It had a class

which was far inferior and far less secure than the typical serfs or craftsmen. But what may be said of the Middle Ages as compared with our time, is that they took better care of their weaker class than we do of ours. All their laws, customs, and regulations were designed to protect the weak against the strong. It might, therefore, be no exaggeration to say that the weaker class was better off; that it was more secure in the Middle Ages than in our time. Our system, up to very recent years, was a system under which the strong survived and grew prosperous, while the weak were cast down and oppressed. It was in a great measure a question of the survival of the fittest. In the Middle Ages the return which a man received for his labor was determined by custom or Gild statute, while in our modern world his return is, with some notable exceptions, determined by competition. The regulation of prices, of wages and serfs' rights by statute and custom was perhaps the most striking characteristic of the Middle Ages. Law and custom determined the lines along which industry should develop, but in later times and especially after the great industrial revolution toward the close of the eighteenth century, industry pursued its course independent of law and of human rights. All legal regulation was looked upon as a great obstacle to the progress of industry. In fact, industry was allowed to develop a law and a morality of its own. This new code, after a time, began to press heavily on the weaker members of society. These, of course, reacted against industrial oppression and began to demand government interference to protect their rights and defend them against the stronger members of society. In our day it has therefore been deemed necessary to return once more to the policy of the Middle Ages, modified, of course, so as to make it suitable to modern conditions, in order to prevent the strong from oppressing the weak members of society.

In order to pass intelligently on the condition of the worker in the Middle Ages, we must study the two great economic institutions of the time, namely the Manor and the Gild. The Manor was a very ancient institution both in England and on the Continent, bearing a striking resemblance to the Roman Villa, from which it is said to derive its origin.[1] In England

[1] Seebohm, *English Village Community*, p. 266.

we can trace its origin back to the beginning of the seventh century. The evidence seems to show that it was brought over from the Continent by the Saxons, who received it from the Romans. Domesday survey gives us a well-defined idea of the Manor as it existed in England shortly after the Norman Conquest. Each Manor was at that time a self-sufficing economic unit. The lord owned all the land in the neighborhood, and under him was a body of serfs, each occupying a certain number of acres of land for which he rendered certain specified services to the lord. Cultivation of the land was carried on in common among the serfs, according to the three-field system. Each year one-third of the arable acreage was sown with a winter crop, another third with a spring crop, while the remaining third was allowed to lie fallow. The part under cultivation was divided up into acre and half-acre strips, separated from one another by unploughed balks. To each member of the community was assigned a certain number of these acre or half-acre strips scattered here and there throughout the whole cultivated area; but the individual had nothing to say with regard to the cultivation of the strips assigned to him. The crops to be sown, the time of sowing, and the amount of labor to be contributed by each were all matters to be decided by the community. To the individual merely belonged the products of his own assignment.

In the English village community at the time of the Domesday survey we discover three classes of serfs. In the first place we have the villeins, who were allowed the use of a virgate, or about thirty acres of land. These embraced 38 per cent of the population of England at the time of the Domesday survey. Under the villeins was a class known as the *bordarii* or cottage tenants, embracing 32 per cent of the population. These held, in addition to their cottages, about five acres of land each, in the open field. Still lower down in the scale were the *servi,* who worked around the Manor, and in return for their work received a livelihood.

The relation between the lord and his tenants of whatever class was one of mutual dependence. He supplied the land on which the tenants lived, the oxen and ploughs with which the land was cultivated, protection in danger, and assistance in time of need. The tenants, in return, had certain obliga-

tions to their lord which are described in detail in the Domesday book: (1) they were bound to work three days each week on the lord's demesne, and an additional number of days in the harvest time; (2) the lord could require extra special services at whatever time he pleased; (3) the tenants were bound to make special payments in kind at Christmas, Easter, and Michaelmas; (4) each tenant was obliged to pay ecclesiastical dues; (5) he had also to pay a fee on the marriage of his daughter or on the transfer of land to his children.[2]

This brief description of the economic framework of the Manor is intended to give the reader an idea of work and pay up to the twelfth century, for before that time the Manor was the great economic unit, not only in England but over the greater part of western Europe. In those days there was no capital in the modern sense, neither was there any exchange worth speaking of. Each community produced whatever was necessary to maintain its own members. There were no wages in the modern sense. Those who worked for the lord received in return either the use of a certain piece of land, or the necessaries of life. Under this system, there was no freedom. The serf could not leave the service of his lord; he was bound to the soil, in the cultivation of which he had to follow the other members of the community.[3] Nothing was, therefore, left to private initiative. The individual could not adopt any new methods of cultivation. He could not adopt a better rotation of crops, unless he could convince the community of the advisability of such a course. But, although the serf could not make any great advances, although he was bound by the laws and customs of the Manor on every side, he was always sure of making a living from the land, except in seasons of special distress, and even then he was assisted from the Manor.

A great change took place in the Manorial system in England during the three centuries succeeding the Norman Conquest, the causes of which are many and complicated. A better national spirit was developed during these centuries, owing to the influence of strong rulers and a common faith. When-

[2] Robinson, *Readings in European History*, Vol. I, §§ 400 to 406. Seebohm, *English Village Community* (extracts from the Hundred Rolls of Edward I), pp. 41-42.

[3] Cunningham, *History of English Industry and Commerce*, Vol. I, p. 137.

ever the lord became too exacting, the serfs could appeal to the king and obtain a redress for their grievances. Their religious gatherings too must have developed in them a consciousness of their rights and opportunities. At these gatherings they exchanged their wares, and hence the religious meeting often became the nucleus of a market.[4] The only thing necessary for the advance of a people thus conscious of their rights and their powers was the sight of an economic opportunity; and the serfs had such an opportunity presented to them. They saw that their obligations to the Manorial lords were an obstacle to their progress; that the time which they devoted to work on the lord's demesne might be spent more profitably in the cultivation of their own fields, and that it would be a better policy for them to have their services commuted into money payments. The land of the lord on the other hand was becoming more valuable owing to the increase of population and the consequent increased demand for its products. The time had come when it was no longer necessary for him to bind the tenants to the soil and compel them to cultivate it. He might now get more from free tenants, and with less trouble, than he had been formerly receiving from the serfs. The change from serfdom to free tenantry was therefore desirable on both sides, but unfortunately we do not always have a change or modification of institutions when there is an economic demand for it. It often comes with a great amount of friction disturbing the social equilibrium and giving rise to many political feuds, and not unfrequently to class war and class hatred. In England the transition did not take place without some struggle, but the struggle was not so general there as on the Continent. Some of the English feudal lords freely responded to the economic demand and freed their serfs, whilst others did not do so without considerable pressure.

This commutation of payments in money for payments in kind and for services shows that the tenants could exchange the products of their farms for money; that the lord could exchange money for foodstuffs and other household necessaries; that he could secure laborers to cultivate his demesne in return

[4] Ibid., Vol. I, p. 95.

for money payments. It supposes the existence of an exchange economy and of a distinct laboring class whose members devoted either the whole or part of their time to working for others. These laborers whom the lord secured for money wages were either slaves who had been recently freed or cotter tenants whose small holdings were not sufficient to maintain them.

Many of the laborers who worked around the lord's Manor developed an aptitude for special kinds of work. Some became proficient in agricultural labor, whilst others acquired a proficiency in working up the raw material for its various uses. The home of the free tenant had also, by this time, ceased to be self-supporting. As more attention was given to agriculture, it became necessary to call in outside help for weaving, spinning, and other kinds of skilled work. The system of wage work was thus developed.[5] The wage worker who may or may not have possessed a piece of land devoted a part of his time to working for others in their homes, and in return received a money wage.

As agriculture continued to advance in the country after the villein had been changed into a free tenant and his services at the Manor had been replaced by the wage earner, a new development was taking place in the town. The townsman was beginning to engage in industry. He had discovered that there was a sufficient demand for manufactured products in the country, so that one devoting his whole time to industry could make a decent livelihood. Thus intensive agriculture drove the farmer to town to have his raw material manufactured, and this in turn created a demand which called the town craftsman into existence. With the introduction of a money and exchange economy, and the development of trade, the craftsman came by degrees to own a little stock of his own. He bought the raw material with his own money, worked it up with his own tools, and sold it in the market.

Among men engaged in any particular line of work common interests soon develop a common consciousness with regard to rights, and the ways and means of securing and defending them. Such was the case with the early craftsman.

[5] Bucker, *Industrial Evolution*, p. 162.

They felt that their subjection to a feudal lord was an obstacle to their progress. Hence they desired to be free from his control. As to the means adopted to attain this end, all that can be said is that it depended on the circumstances in each country. In England, where there was a strong monarchy, it would be easy for the townsmen to secure their freedom by appealing to the king. On the Continent, where the patricians were strong and where there was no strong central government, the townsmen would not obtain a free charter without a considerable struggle.

The development of the free town in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries gives rise to an interesting historical question. Was the free town a development from the Gild or was the Gild merely a side issue in the development of the free town? Professor Brentano, among others, believes that the free towns of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were developments from the earlier Frith Gilds,[6] and that their liberties were simply concessions of the king or lord to the members of the already existing Gilds.[7] According to Brentano, the Gild may be traced back to the sacrificial meals and family banquets of the North. When the family was no longer capable of protecting its members, artificial unions were formed for this purpose. Christianity further strengthened the bond which existed in these religious and protective societies of the pagans. Out of these pagan societies, purified and elevated by the sublime teaching of Christianity, arose the religious Gilds and trade organizations of the Middle Ages. At first religious and fraternal organizations, the Gilds, according to Brentano, would develop an economic activity in the ordinary process of evolution.

When the Gilds first appeared, there was no economic struggle; but as new opportunities presented themselves to the Gild members and as new dangers threatened their position, they naturally made use of their old organizations, both to defend and advance their interests. Hence it was that the Gild took on an economic aspect in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. They made use of their religious organization in the fight for

[6] A gild for joint defence and preservation of the peace.

[7] Brentano, *Introductory Essay to Smith's Gilds*, p. 99.

their economic freedom, and it was to these religious organizations that the first free charters were granted by the feudal lords.

This theory about the origin of the free town has been questioned by many prominent authorities.[8] Its very simplicity was sufficient to excite suspicion about its truth, for great social changes are as a rule not so simple. It is always difficult to trace them to any one cause. Their causes will vary according to the different social environment in which they make their appearance. Now in the period of which we are treating two great social changes took place. There was the rise of the free Merchant Gild, made up of all those who carried on any trade in the town, and there was the rise of the free towns. How are these two phenomena related? How far were they identical? How far was one cause and the other effect? What connexion had they with the past? According to the theory which we have been expounding, both phenomena are practically identical; the free town is simply another name for the free Merchant Gild, and the free Merchant Gild was itself a development from the earlier Frith Gilds. By reason of the new facts which have been brought to light by recent discovery, the two main points of this theory have been questioned. In the first place, it has been discovered that, according to many English charters, the Gild was not synonymous with the town; that it merely formed a subordinate part of town activity; that the right to have a free Merchant Gild was only one of the many rights granted to free towns in England. Those who by reason of these facts believe that the Merchant Gild was not synonymous with the town also believe that it was not a development from the earlier Frith Gilds, but rather a natural product of the economic conditions of the twelfth and the thirteenth century. Each of these theories will explain many of the facts brought to light by students of medieval records, but neither one will explain all. Sometimes the Merchant Gild was synonymous with the free town and sometimes it was not. In some instances the Merchant Gild was a development from the earlier Frith Gild, and in other instances it was a natural product of the time. Even if we hold

[8] Gross, *Gild Merchant*, Vol. I.

that the Gilds were a creation of the economic demands of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and that they had no historical connexion with the religious organizations of the preceding ages, we cannot thence conclude that they were purely economic organizations. Every social group must reflect the religion and current ideals of its time; it must especially reflect the interests that are uppermost in the minds of its members, but in the Middle Ages all made religion their supreme interest. The social, political and economic ideals of the time were moulded and governed by religion. Every institution of the time had religious aims and purposes. The Gilds could not have been any exception to this general rule. They were made up of men who were deeply religious, and who could not, therefore, help giving a religious character to their organizations. Hence, whatever may have been the origin of the Gilds, they could not help taking on religious aims in the course of their development. And what is more, these religious aims would not be a thing apart; they must have formed an essential part of the life of the Gilds; they must have formed a real bond of union between the Gild members. All the members of the Gild attended Mass in a body on stated occasions. In many places they took part in processions of the Blessed Sacrament. Every Gild had its own patron saint. All were bound to contribute something for the support of the poor, and for prayers and Masses to be offered for deceased members.[9] "In fact, if we attempt to grasp their activity as a whole and bring it into relation with the rest of the life of the time we shall come to the conclusion that almost all, if not all,

[9] In the rules of Gild of White Tawyers of London we read: (1) that each person of the said trade shall put into the box such sum as he shall think fit, in aid of maintaining said candle (a candle to burn before the shrine of Our Lady, in the Church of All Hallows, near London Wall); also, if by chance, any member of the said trade shall fall into poverty, whether through old age, or because he cannot labor or work, he shall have, every week from the said box, sevenpence for his support, if he be a man of good repute. And after his decease, if he leave a wife, a woman of good repute, she shall have weekly for her support, sevenpence from the said box, as long as she shall behave herself and keep single. (Extracts from the White Tawyers Gild of London from *Readings in European History*, by James Harvey Robinson, Vol. I, p. 411.) These rules throw a good deal of light on the connexion of the religious works of the Gilds with their work as benefit societies, and they supply a strong argument against those who hold that the Gilds could not have been seriously affected by the confiscation of their religious foundations.

the Gilds (in the sense of the later Middle Ages) were religious and that religious purposes were their primary ones." [10]

The advance of industry in the towns during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries compelled the Gilds which were already in existence to take on an economic function. The inhabitants of the town felt that they ought to be free from all outside interference in carrying on their trades; they felt that they had a right to impose on outsiders any restrictions that were necessary for the advancement of industry in their own town. Outsiders were therefore forbidden to trade with outsiders within the town precincts; they were forbidden to trade with the inhabitants of the town in anything else save the necessaries of life. The Gild had a monopoly of all things bought and sold in the town. Where a religious organization was already in existence, it was naturally used for this purpose of regulating trade. Where no such organization existed, a new association would be called into existence by the economic demand.

The Gilds which regulated the trade policy of the towns in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were called Merchant Gilds. Their members however were not merchants in the modern sense. Each one owned some land and a house in the town besides a few tools which he used in his trade. In the exercise of his trade each one was subject to the Gild authorities. The time during which he should work, the kind of product he should turn out and the price of his product were all regulated by Gild statute. Night work was forbidden to the Gild members, partly to maintain their standards of production and partly for the welfare of the members themselves.[11] Gild members were also forbidden to work on Sundays and on eves of festivals in order that they might have time for the proper religious exercises on those days.[12]

In the beginning all those engaged in any craft in the town seem to have belonged to the Merchant Gild, but in time differences in wealth and an increase of population made a great

[10] Ashley, *Introduction to English Economic History and Theory*, Part 2, p. 137.

[11] See "Articles of London Spurriers Gild," Robinson, *Readings in European History*, Vol. I, p. 409.

[12] Ibid., p. 410.

change. As industry advanced, the craftsmen needed the assistance of others in order to supply the increased demand for their products. This economic demand attracted new members to the town. These newcomers owned no property, but sought admittance into some trade in order to make a livelihood. They became apprentices to the old masters with the intention of becoming masters themselves when their term of apprenticeship was completed. The masters, in order to maintain the standard of their products and to safeguard their own interests, drew up rules for those seeking admittance as apprentices to the trades. These rules became stricter and stricter as the number of applicants for apprenticeship increased, and became, in time, almost prohibitive. Such in brief is the history of the development of the Merchant Gild. At first it was open to all who wished to enter any calling in the town. All that was necessary was a willingness to conform to its regulations. After a time it imposed very severe restrictions on those wishing to learn a trade, apparently to maintain its standards of workmanship, but really to save its own members from competition with newcomers.

As a result of the development of trade and the entrance of a propertyless class into the crafts, the old Merchant Gild no longer satisfied the demands of a large number of craftsmen. The interests of these latter were different from and very often opposed to the interests of the members of the Merchant Gild, with the result that a new organization was formed responding to a new set of social interests. The new Craft Gild was therefore a protest against the exclusiveness and monopolistic tendencies of the Merchant Gild. This, of course, is a general statement of the case, and it must be accepted with many modifications in the history of each country and of each town. It supposes a conflict between the old Merchant Gild and the craftsmen. On the Continent there are clear evidences of such a conflict. "Already in the thirteenth century," says Brentano, "the most violent struggles broke out between the craftsmen, united in a brotherly way, and the hated patricians. When they became rich, the Gild brothers could remain idle. Idleness became a matter of rank and honor." [13] The evi-

[13] *Introductory Essay*, p. 109.

dences of a conflict between the craftsmen and the Merchant Gild are not so apparent in England as on the Continent. There the ordinary process of evolution seems to have substituted the Crafts Gilds for the Merchant Gild. As trade developed each craft came to have separate interests of its own, and these interests could be better advanced by a separate organization. Thus each craft gradually broke away from the Merchant Gild and formed a special organization of its own for the regulation of its own trade. The formation of these separate organizations gradually broke the power of the Merchant Gild in England.

However they acquired their power, the Crafts Gilds seem to have exercised a complete control over the trade of the towns by the end of the fourteenth century. Act 37 of Edward III acknowledged their trade policy declaring "that all artificers and people of mysteries shall each choose his own mystery before next Candlemas, and that having so chosen he shall use no other ".[14] This was an acknowledgment on behalf of the law of the land that things ought to be so arranged as to enable each man to earn his bread by his own labor, and through the use of his own small capital; for such was the trade policy of the Gilds. No stranger was allowed to trade in the town, except on market days, and even then he was forbidden to sell anything to the townsmen, except food and victuals. No brother was allowed to undermine another brother in his trade. The articles produced by every craftsman had to reach a certain standard of perfection, and in order to maintain a high standard each one was compelled to spend seven years as an apprentice and to pass a rather difficult examination at which he had to present a masterpiece, before being allowed to practise a trade. On the Continent, however, the term of apprenticeship was not so long, being usually no more than three or four years. These regulations of the Craft Gilds did not differ much from the regulations of the Merchant Gild. They were merely applications to each special group of craftsmen of the regulations which the older Merchant Gild applied to the whole trade of the town.

[14] Brentano, op. cit., p. 129.

In the Craft Gild, for the first time, industry was separated from agriculture and became a special calling, to which a number of men could devote their whole time. The craftsmen earned their livelihood by industry. Each one was in a certain sense a capitalist, and employer and workman at the same time. The master craftsman was a capitalist inasmuch as he owned the tools which he used in his trade. He was an employer, because he generally had two or three apprentices under him. He was a workman because he was engaged every day side by side with his apprentices at his loom, his anvil, or his spinning-wheel. Common interest established a bond of union among the craftsmen, and this bond was made stronger and more effective by a common religion. The craftsmen could not separate their economic activity from their religion. Both were inextricably bound together in their lives, and both found a prominent expression in the Gild statutes; which were purposely designed to promote both the religious and economic welfare of the members. A desire for strict justice based on religion is evident in all their statutes. This desire for strict justice underlay their regulation of wages and of prices. They believed that prices should be determined by the labor cost of the article and that the labor cost should be determined by the amount necessary to support the laborer.

The Craft Gilds in the beginning were made up of those who owned a little capital in the shape of tools and carried on a trade in the town. As trade increased, the craftsmen became more independent and each increased his little supply of capital. And as the masters increased their supply of capital, it became more and more necessary for those about to become masters to have already some capital on hand. The problem of becoming a master and starting a shop of his own thereby became more and more difficult for the apprentice. Many could never hope to reach the position of master, and had to be satisfied to spend their whole lives in the service of others. The advance of trade in the towns also attracted a large number of applicants for apprenticeship, which caused the masters to fear lest the crafts might be oversupplied with labor, and led them to impose severe restrictions on apprenticeship. The fees for apprentices were raised, an oath was imposed on them that they would not set up in business for themselves after they

had completed their apprenticeship.[15] By reason of these restrictions, entrance to a trade became very difficult, and in some cases impossible, for all except the masters' children, so that the trade of the town tended more and more to become the private monopoly of a few families. The Gild regulations became so stringent and unbearable that the government had to interfere in 1437, and forbid the making of any new ordinances without their being first approved and enrolled before Justices of the Peace, and that the same should be by them afterward revoked and recalled if not found to be wholly loyal and reasonable.

The restrictions of the Craft Gilds together with the natural increase of population due to the advance of industry and the large influx of freed serfs into the towns led to the formation of a special and distinctive laboring class about the middle of the fourteenth century. About that time there was a body of men who had either served their time as apprentices without any hope of becoming masters or whom the stringent regulations of apprenticeship prevented from acquiring any trade. Common interests easily developed a common consciousness of rights among these two classes. They were determined to get as much as possible from the masters, and when their rights were violated they united for the purpose of redress. The interests of this body of laborers naturally conflicted at many points with the interests of their masters, with the result that they had frequent disputes, sometimes leading to concerted cessations from work resembling our modern strikes. The plague of 1348 brought the opposition between the employers and working class to a crisis. The workmen took advantage of the small supply of labor to demand an increase of wages. The employers resisted their demands and had a law passed—the notorious Statute of Laborers—by which it was ordained that no workman should receive more and no employer should give more than had been customary before the plague.[16] One of the ordinances of the City of London in the year 1350 shows that the journeymen had heretofore resorted to strikes as a means of enforcing their demands. Hence it was provided

[15] Ashley, *Introduction to English Economic History and Theory*, Part II, p. 105.

[16] Brentano, op. cit., p. 113.

that for the future disputes should be settled by the wardens of the trade.

It is therefore evident that by the middle of the fourteenth century the Gild, custom, and statute regulations no longer satisfied the demands of an ever-increasing body of men. A slow economic process was separating the propertied from the propertyless class. The interests of the former were upheld by Gild statutes, but the latter had no organization to defend or advance its interests. It is to the efforts of this latter class to establish separate organizations of its own that we must trace most of the economic struggles of the latter part of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century. The masters were naturally opposed to their apprentices forming separate organizations, just as the modern capitalist is opposed to his employees forming trade unions. They used every means in their power to prevent their journeymen from organizing. At Chester in 1358 we are told that the master weavers and challoners made a murderous attack on their journeymen during the Corpus Christi procession with poles and axes.[17] Instances of similar disputes are to be found in Strasburg, Paris, Amiens, and Chalons, in the latter half of the fourteenth century.[18]

Notwithstanding the opposition of masters and the laws which forbade them to form organizations of their own, the class-conscious journeymen persevered in their struggle. When forbidden to form trade organizations, they sheltered themselves under the garb of religion. They held their meetings and formed organizations ostensibly for religious purposes but really to advance their economic interests. Out of this struggle of the journeymen for their economic independence arose the yeomen companies of the fifteenth century, representing a new class and giving expression to a new set of interests. These companies were a protest against the exclusiveness of the Craft Gilds. They arose to satisfy a demand which the Gild had failed to satisfy. Their great object was to secure sufficient wages and more favorable working conditions

[17] Unwin, *Industrial Organization in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, p. 51.

[18] Unwin, op. cit., p. 49. Martin-St-Leon, *Histoire des corporations de metiers.*

for the journeymen, and for this object we find them engaging in many successful strikes in the first quarter of the fifteenth century.

The economic forces of the fifteenth century tended to increase the power of the journeymen's organizations. The development of the market had now become a special calling which demanded the full attention of the older and more successful members of the Craft Gilds. These had to make use of another class of men to work up the raw material, and this class was recruited both from the old Craft Gilds and from the journeymen's organizations. A large number of journeymen thus became small masters owning their own shops and sometimes working on material provided by themselves. The natural result of this economic process was a great increase in the membership and strength of the yeomen companies.

About the middle of the fifteenth century a great change seems to have taken place in the journeymen's organizations. They had again become an adjunct of the old Craft Gilds and were governed by courts of assistants elected by the wealthier members in each trade.[19] This change was probably due to the process of differentiation going on in the journeymen's organizations. The members who had become masters in the trades developed an identity of interests with the older organizations. They felt that it was necessary for them to adopt the old restrictions in order to maintain their position. As a result of this change the journeymen as well as those seeking admittance to trades increased. So restrictive did their policy become that in 1503 Parliament was forced to intervene forbidding them to make any new regulations without the approval of the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Treasurer, and the Chief Justices in the assizes.[20]

In the beginning of the sixteenth century the Gilds had become for the most part organizations of masters and traders. Their whole policy was directed toward the advancement of industry and trade, and they had ceased to interest themselves any longer in the journeymen or unskilled laborers. Industrial prosperity had dissipated a great part of their old ideal-

[19] Ashley, *Introduction to English Economic History and Theory*, Part II, p. 114. Brentano, *Introductory Essay*, p. ciiii.

[20] Ashley, op. cit., Part II, p. 159.

ism. A process of class differentiation was now making itself felt among the Gild members. Master was being separated from servant, capital from labor, and each was developing distinct and sometimes antagonistic interests of its own. The number of persons depending on labor for their livelihood was increasing. Thousands of tenants had been swept away in the great clearances. The secularization of the monasteries also extinguished the rights of numerous copyholders,[21] which made it possible for the new incumbents to remove them whenever they pleased. All those who had been deprived of their lands flocked to the towns, thus making a great increase in the supply of available labor. This increase in the supply of labor, together with the abnormal increase in the supply of the precious metals, which increase, of course, lessened the value of the standard coin, caused a great decline in the real wages of the laborer, and brought him to the brink of poverty.

The impoverished condition of the English laborer in the sixteenth century presented a very serious problem to the government. A cursory glance at the legal documents of the period is sufficient to convince anyone of the seriousness of the problem. Complaints were heard in Parliament from all over the land of the increase of poverty, of unemployment, and of the decline in wages. The policy of the Gilds had become too restrictive for the new conditions. The labor problem had become, as it were, too large for them. But for their own members, they were still doing much good. They defended the interests of their members, helped them in time of need, and when a member died they supported his widow and orphans.

If the policy of the Gilds had been effectively regulated; if an honest attempt had been made to rid them of their abuses, they might have become most effective instruments for the solution of the labor problem in the sixteenth century; but instead of making any real attempt to reform the Gilds, the English Government rent asunder the strongest bond that had united the Gild members for centuries by confiscating all their

[21] Hasbach, *English Agricultural Labourer,* p. 36. Since it is calculated that the monasteries owned one-fifth of the land of England the consequences of depriving so many tenants of their copyholds must have been far-reaching.

property which was devoted to religious purposes.[22] This practically brought the Gilds to an end as active agents in charity or as effective instruments for the regulation of labor.[23] The monasteries, on which the poor had relied for centuries in seasons of want, had already been destroyed. The government had, therefore, now to assume the two great functions which had hitherto been discharged by the Gild and the monastery, namely the relief of the poor, and the regulation of labor.

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THE SUNDAY COLLECTS.

"QUIETA non turbare" was the ruling principle of the Sadducees. Familiarly we should word it "let well enough alone". It is the law of inertia, stagnation, disintegration, dissolution, death. In the corporate life of the Church, not less than in the spiritual life of the individual, the moment men settle down to think "it is enough", there is a falling back. Progress or retrogression is inevitable. With or against the Spirit that breatheth where He will, we shall ever be found. As a consequence, progress entails a share of aggressiveness; inertia, of bootless suffering.

Not long since, we treasured something we thought was "good enough"—a missal and a breviary. Countenances brightened when it was rumored the Dominical offices were to be shortened; yet the abridgment turned out rich in disappointment. The new psalter, as we have it, was unlooked-for. And now, the readjustment of the entire calendar[1] silences even critics of esthetic taste, who but yesterday found so much of the unpalatable in the old order. May we not be like the spoiled children of the market-place who pipe, but find no dancers; who mourn and weep alone?

[22] Ashley, *Introduction to English Economic History and Theory*, Part II, p. 158.

[23] Cunningham, an unbiased authority, believes that the Gilds received their deathblow by the statute of Edward VI (*History of English Industry and Commerce*, Vol. I, p. 47).

[1] *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, IV, 2, pp. 57 ff.

The heart of Pius X is emblazoned with the device "instaurare omnia in Christo". This lofty aim impels him to keep one fatherly hand gently pressing on the pulse of men within the Church and the other, on that of Christ. Both should beat together and alike. Of meek mien, yet vigorous in action, his Holiness stands as physician and shepherd, mildly speaking, wisely counselling, purifying, simplifying, renewing and uplifting. The relative innovation of reciting the psalter every week [2] recalls the age when priests were supposed to know it by heart and many repeated it every day. St. Jerome recommended that even children be taught to chant the psalms. At seven years, he held, they should know the psalter from memory, but not the songs of the world. As for the stricter liturgical observance of Sunday,[3] the reform is based on the fundamental appropriateness of paying first and highest homage to God alone. It is not befitting that the Lord's day should yield precedence to a saint's.

In appreciating this Godward movement, the first glimmer of light will pierce our souls when we reconcile ourselves to the prohibition of Ecclesiastes: "Do not say: 'Why is it that the former days were better than these?' for thou dost not ask in wisdom concerning this." Broad day will flood upon us when the discipline of action and honor, of obedience and reverence, will have taught us manly discretion and imparted a realization of the charm there is in the example of Christ who set himself first to do, and only then to teach and comment. Understanding is what we need and not our own way.

On the other hand, the liturgy merits to be understood. It is the voice of Christ's mystic spouse, the Church. Many other forms of prayer may be permitted, the novelty and variety of which attract attention and awaken slumbering fervor, but liturgical prayer is "the great prayer", the Church's own prayer, "ever ancient and ever new, ever fruitful and copiously blessed by God". The more this official and distinctively Catholic prayer is relished, propagated and popularized among Christians of all classes, the more will they grow in the spirit of charity and evangelical perfection. Simple and ele-

[2] *Acta*, V, 16, pp. 449 ff.

[3] "Dominicae quaevis assignationem perpetuam cujuslibet Festi excludunt." —*Acta*, V, 16, p. 458.

mentary as liturgical prayer may seem, it fosters virile thought and affection, and makes mental prayer a work of choice even in the midst of worldly occupations. It imparts to piety a strong theological impress and causes the light of truth to shine in such manner as to profit even those who share not fully our holy faith.

It is in the Breviary prayers and collects of the Mass that liturgical sentiment is crystallized. There its focus is undimmed. The Secret and Post-Communion are less differentiated as to season and content. They are less important expressions of the varying phases of liturgical life. Rather, they are buried too deep in the heart of liturgical action to belong to the superficies called expression. The Collects are, as it were, a prominent part of the countenance and features of the personality. They are its pulse and breath of life. They, in conjunction with the Epistle and Gospel, register the changes going on within; or better, they are part of the surface in perpetual contact with things without, in virtue of which all changes are effected.

Just as in the human organism there is a common framework for all classes and races, just as there are common functions for the same organs, just as the internal physical life operates according to the same laws in all individuals, so in the liturgy there is a Canon, with its Preface and appendages, an internal structure, system, and operation that bids defiance to essential change and is the same in heart and spirit in all rites and climes. But as in the mind and body there is sensation and perception of things that are without, attraction or revulsion according as they strike us, altered views and countenances as our experiences multiply, so there is a variety of liturgical phases that do not touch the core but modify the entrance to it and react upon its pulsations with a virtue that deadens and renews.

Each successive season furnishes new environment, and liturgy is now self-adjusting to the change. Advent, Christmas, and Epiphany, the penitential period, Easter, and Pentecost, each has an atmosphere distinct, a peculiar landscape, a flora and fauna of its own. Liturgy basks in them—or sighs and weeps—yet always energizes with the revolving cycle. The Collects teach us how to become attuned.

I. History of the Sunday Collects.

The name collect (*collecta*), like Mass (*missa*), is a survival of a form of spelling now antiquated for other words. Witness *confessa, oblata, ascensa* in the sacramentaries. *Collectio, missio, confessio, oblatio, ascensio* would be more consistent usage. Collect has a meaning quite opposite to the original signification of Mass. *Missa* or *missio* stood for *dimissio* or dismissal, and in that sense it is still used in "Ite missa est". The collect or *collectio* was pronounced *super populum* or over the assemblage of the people before they departed from their own church to make a station in a neighboring one. It was repeated at the station at the beginning of Mass. For a time the Secret and Post-Communion prayers were designated Collects, but the name is now more properly reserved for the prayers before the Epistle. Up to the ninth century there was but one Collect, strictly so-called. This, perhaps, explains the dignified separation by a special ending of the first Collect from all others prescribed at present.

Innocent III is describing rather than defining Collect when he says that "in this prayer the priest *collects* the prayers of all the people".[4] The manner of collecting them is witnessed to in the very ancient formula: "Dominus vobiscum. Oremus". This was a greeting and a command to pray. The deacon would thereupon determine the attitude with "Flectamus genua"; which being done, there was an interval of silent converse with God. During it the faithful might pray as they would until bidden by the subdeacon to rise, "Levate". Then, as if summarizing the petitions and homage of the assistants, the celebrant would sing the Collect, which was always short, addressing it directly to God, rarely to our Lord, and never to the Holy Ghost. The termination contained a protestation of faith in the Blessed Trinity and an appeal to the mediatorship of Christ: "per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum," etc.

The Sunday Collects, as we have them, originated in that age of blessedness. The Paschal group antedates the seventh century and may go back to the fifth. Others have been slightly rearranged; a few have been replaced by others, but

[4] *De Sacr. Altaris Myst.*, II, 27.—See Fortescue, *Cath. Encycl.*, s. v. "Collect."

nearly all have been preserved and handed down with a reverence that has not suffered the alteration of a word.

The first parts of the Mass to be consigned to writing were the diptychs, which have since been succeeded by the mementoes in the Canon. The Collects were very likely written next, because, varying as they do from day to day, or from week to week, they were less easily remembered. Yet there is no reason for imagining that they were all composed at once or according to any fixed rule. Since the more important Collects are related to an ecclesiastical season it would be absurd to represent the Collect as antedating the season. On the other hand, certain seasons have been the outgrowth of local customs, and since customs often spread spontaneously and are only gradually unified, it is not surprising to find a variety of liturgical observances characterizing them.

Advent is typical. St. Martin's Lent in Gaul (sixth century) and St. Philip's Lent among the Greeks (eighth century) were identical with it. It fluctuated in length between four and six weeks in different countries and centuries. It was generally regarded as a penitential season with the concomitants of fasting or abstinence and abstention from the sacrament of Matrimony. The Collects of the Latin rite bear the impress of this spirit. The Mozarabs of Spain, on the contrary, were forbidden to fast and they translated their sentiments into a prayer that reflects a total absorption in the anticipated joys of Christmas, which they inordinately transfigured into those of the Resurrection. Following is the Mozarabic Collect for all six Sundays of Advent.[5]

O God who didst choose to announce through angelic choirs the coming of Thy Son, our Lord Jesus Christ; who didst show (Him) to those who besought (Thee), by the angelic proclamation of glory to God in the highest and on earth peace to men of good will: grant on this festive day of the Lord's resurrection, that peace, returned to earth, may grow stable and, being renewed in the charity of brotherly love, may be lasting. Amen.

This is but a specimen of the formative and fluid condition of ecclesiastical customs and liturgies in the early Middle Ages.

[5] Migne, *P. L.*, LXXXV, Col. 109.

In the midst of this confusion it is exhilarating to hear the liberal reply of Pope Gregory the Great to St. Augustine, apostle of the Angles, who had asked why in an undivided faith there should be such diversity as permits one kind of Mass in the Roman Church and another in that of the Gauls. The Pontiff wrote substantially: "Your brotherliness is fond of the Roman custom to which you were reared; but it is pleasing to me that whatever you find in the Roman, Gallic or any other Church that is more agreeable to Almighty God, you should select and compose into a special institution for the Angles who are new in the faith. Things are not to be loved because of their place (of origin), but places are to be loved because of things." [6]

Out of this chaos, over which the primeval Spirit was brooding, order was sure to evolve and the name of Gregory himself has been traditionally associated with the systematization. Up to the present stage the position of Rome was anomalous. Elsewhere the prevailing rite was determined by the patriarchate; but the pope, who was patriarch of the West, exercised no such jurisdiction. When the expediency of changing this policy and eliminating less desirable rites once and for all made itself felt, pressure was brought to bear on the hierarchy by a lay sovereign rather than the pope. It was Charlemagne who definitely introduced Roman services among the Franks during the pontificate of Adrian I (771-795). The Gallican rite became thereupon a matter of history, and the Mozarabic succumbed two centuries later under Pope Gregory VII (1073-1085). Both rites are now kept as little more than local reminiscences at Milan and Toledo respectively.

This brings us to the sources on which an historic study of the Latin Collects must be based. They are the sacramentaries,[7] three in number, commonly known as Leonine, Gelasian, and Gregorian. It was the last-named that Adrian is accredited with having sent to Charlemagne to serve as a model for the Franks.

The sacramentaries are collections of Mass prayers chiefly, the name being derived from sacrament, a term formerly ap-

[6] *P. L.*, LXXVII, 1187.

[7] For more extended treatment and bibliography, Fortescue, *Cath. Encycl.*, s. v. "Liturgical Books."

plied to the Mass. They embraced the Ordinary and Canon, as performed by the celebrant, with special prayers, a variety of Prefaces and blessings he was to make use of as occasion demanded. The Epistle, Gospel and other parts were omitted, since they were chanted or read only by the ministers or assistants.

The Leonine Sacramentary,[8] arbitrarily ascribed by Bianchini (1735), its finder, to Pope St. Leo I (440-461), is the oldest. The only MS. of it that is known was written in the seventh century. The compilation is incomplete, was carelessly made, and need not have been official. Duchesne would carry it back to about 538 A. D.; Probst, to the period between 366-461; Buchwald, to the sixth or seventh century. Buchwald conjectures that Gregory of Tours (538-9 to 593-4) may have had a hand in the preparation and that the work was designed, not for use at the altar, but as a model or source for the guidance of composers of Roman books destined to replace editions current in Gaul. At any rate it represents Roman usage unalloyed. Compared with the modern missal its Collects are more different than alike in content and composition. Although the first three months of the year are missing, there is enough remaining to show us that we must look elsewhere for any reduction of the ferial and Sunday Collects to a form approaching the one they have at present.

The Gelasian Sacramentary [9] is the next available. It is divided into three books. The first contains the prayers and Prefaces of Sundays and feasts from the vigil of Christmas to Pentecost; the second, the propers and commons of the saints, to the end of which Advent is appended; the third, a collection of prayers "for Sundays". If the first and third books appear to overlap, it is only at first glance. The Sunday prayers of the latter, in not being specified as pertaining to a particular season, must, as we look back, have been composed for parts of the year left unprovided in the first and second books. They correspond systematically with many of our "Sundays after Trinity". The third book also contains the Canon with two series of daily and votive prayers.

The Gelasian Sacramentary is no longer pure Roman, notwithstanding its title, "Liber Sacramentorum Romanae Ec-

[8] *P. L.*, LV, cc. 21-156.

[9] *P. L.*, LXXIV, cc. 1055-1244.

clesiae". It may have been based, as Buchwald believes, on the earlier Leonine edition, but it has been noticeably Gallicanized. It was certainly of Frankish origin, yet, according to Duchesne, it represented Roman service between 628 and 731 A. D. Dom Baumer and Bishop run it back to the sixth century when the Romans reëntered Gaul. All concede that it is incorrectly ascribed to Pope St. Gelasius I (492-496).

The condition and history of the Gelasian Sacramentary furnish us an insight into converging liturgical tendencies among the Franks and Romans which St. Augustine, in his letter referred to above, seems not to have taken into account. The supposed origin of the Leonine Sacramentary marks the borderland of a fusion. Once Gallican influence began, it increased and flourished unto a perfect work in symmetry, beauty, and harmony. The Gallican rite was destined to extinction, thanks to the desire of substantial conformity with Rome, that had been visible since the sixth century, but the spirit that evoked it lived on, and Rome later knew how to cull the white honey of its fairy gardens and sweeten with it the lips of her own clergy, the inner circle about the Apostolic See. Charlemagne merely hastened and sealed the happy issue.

When the Emperor of the West besought Adrian I for the service-book of Rome, the pontiff sent him what is commonly believed to have been the nucleus of the third extant or Gregorian Sacramentary.[10] This work embraced the Ordinary of the Mass; propers of the time and of saints dovetailed, instead of apart as in the Gelasian book; and prayers for ordinations. There are no votive or requiem masses. From the eighth to the eleventh century this sacramentary was the subject of numerous Gallican alterations and accretions, and at the end of that time we find it as a newer absorbent back in Rome, becoming the "foundation of our present Roman missal". The older and purer Roman rite was completely supplanted.

The Roman missal in its present form mounts backward through the revision of Leo XIII (1884) to a far more radical one conducted at intervals during a period of seventy years beginning with the Council of Trent and extending to 1634. It is the Dominican Pope Pius V, whose name is intimately

[10] *P. L.*, LXXVIII, cc. 25-264.

bound up with this prodigious undertaking, although his predecessor, Pius IV, had also been identified with it. Clement VIII and Urban VIII perfected what they began.

The missal contains much more than the sacramentaries, and is referred to here merely as the necessary link connecting the sacramentaries with our own time. It may be noted in passing that the missals used by the Carthusians, Carmelites, and Dominicans, like the "rites" they represent, are essentially and specifically Roman, their peculiarities being only different colorings of Gallican or local origin, that suffice to produce Roman varieties, but not distinct rites or rituals, except in a loose sense. As related to the subject of this study, they have no special bearing that will affect the conclusions drawn. The Dominican missal, for one, has exactly the same Sunday Collects as the Roman, strictly so-called, and in the same order.

In perusing the sources mentioned we are impressed by the antiquity of the Sunday Collects, with which we wish to coordinate those of Christmas, Epiphany, and Ascension. Despite the vicissitudes to which the sacramentaries and the manifold church customs were exposed, these prayers have come down to us intact from the moment of their first appearance. Not all appear simultaneously, but the fixedness of literary structure, sentiment, and relative position they had acquired as far back as they can be traced, bespeaks for many of them a far greater antiquity than was enjoyed by the extant books to which they were consigned. The writings of early liturgists merely mirrored customs that were ages old and in mirroring preserved them.

The liturgical Epistles and Gospels share in this steadiness, and, since they constitute the immediate setting in which the Collects are imbedded, it will be advantageous to tabulate them with the Collects in such manner as to show the medieval grouping for successive Sundays, and thereby enable the reader to see at a glance wherein they differed from the current arrangement, and wherein they continue unchanged. The order of the Epistles and Gospels is that found in Smaragdus, O.S.B., "Collectiones in Epistolas et Evangelia".[11] Smarag-

[11] *P. L.*, CII, cc. 15-552.

dus was a contemporary of Charlemagne, and his "Collectiones" may be relied upon for their fidelity to the order observed in the liturgy during the first half of the ninth century.

Since an ulterior and practical purpose of this investigation is to throw the Collects into greater relief, to secure for them greater prominence in popular expositions of the Church's spirit, to place them side by side with the Gospel that is to be preached to the people weekly as an index to the Church's own interpretation of the first and highest duty imposed by the Gospel, prayer—it seems that no information that will make the Collects more intelligible to priests or people can afford to be neglected. An analysis of the structure and contents of the Collects will be a sequel to their history and this will be the better comprehended by those who can summon to their aid a knowledge of the way in which these treasures have been enchased by Holy Church in successive ages.

Too often is the Church's spirit only vaguely grasped. Liturgical exegesis is a study more familiar to an élite of clerical converts than to those who have grown old in the faith. And yet the liturgy and the prayers of the liturgy are the voice of God. "We ourselves know not what we should pray for as we ought," but in liturgical prayer, whose effect is *ex opere operato,* "the Spirit Himself asketh for us with unspeakable groanings".[12] The communion of saints gives us one voice at the altar with the spiritual luminaries of the past, one heart with those that palpitated in Bethlehem and on Calvary, one aim with the hosts of veritable "slaves of Christ", who, like St. Paul, immolated themselves to help on the noble work of taking away the sins of the world.

The intention of these multitudes is that of the Church. Ours should not be different. Now the highest expression of that intention is in the Church's official prayers, and when we find these inspired outpourings castellating the sacred ramparts of the ecclesiastical seasons with an age and majesty both thrilling and imposing, we are in possession of one new incentive to bow our heads and murmur heartily with the disciples: "Lord, teach us to pray."[13]

[12] Rom. 8:26.
[13] Lk. 11:1.

In explanation of the following table, the Sundays and chief festivals of the year are given in the first column. In the second are list numbers in bold-faced type, ranging without interruption from one to sixty. They represent the grouping of Collect, Epistle and Gospel, as provided in current editions of the missal for the particular Sundays opposite them in the first column. Wherever they are repeated in the parallel columns they stand for the same Epistle, Gospel, or Collect, according to the column, and show on what Sunday it was formerly used. To illustrate: no. 56 designates the twenty-third Sunday after Pentecost (see XXIII in first column); that is, the Collect, "Absolve"; the Epistle, "Imitatores"; and the Gospel, "Loquente Jesu". Its position in the second, third and fourth columns shows that the Epistle "Imitatores" went formerly with the XXIV Sunday after Pentecost; the Gospel, "Loquente Jesu", with the XXV; while the Collect, "Absolve", belonged to the XVIII. Capital A signifies a special Collect; texts of Scripture, special lessons; O, an omission; small a, b, s, the first, second or last (*super populum*) of a series of prayers assigned for a given date in the source at the head of the columns.

In the Gelasian column the Roman numerals are those of the sacramentary. They are placed opposite the Sunday with whose Collect they agree. As above noted, the Advent prayer is borrowed from the second book; those from Christmas to II after Pentecost, from the first; and the remainder from the third. The Collects from the third book are entitled "for Sundays" without any special reference to the time of year. Parentheses signify some peculiarity: thus, at (XII), Gel. assigns prayer no. 9 for the Octave of Epiphany; (XLIV) signifies only partial agreement with the received Easter collect; (LXV), while being the same as prayer 35, falls under the rubric, "Sunday after the Ascension".

The anomaly of the XXV, XXVI, and XXVII Sundays after Pentecost is accounted for by the tardiness of the modern expedient of transferring to the end of the year the superfluous "Sundays after Epiphany". The list numbers have in these three cases no relation with determinate prayers in the missal.

COMPARATIVE SCHEME OF THE SUNDAY COLLECTS, EPISTLES, AND GOSPELS.

Sundays	List no.	Smaragdus		Collects	
		Epist.	Gosp.	Greg.	Gel.
Adv. I	1	1	Mt. 21	1	
II	2	2	1	2	LXXXI
III	3	4	2	3	
IV	4	3	3	4	
Xmas. I	5	Is. 9	5	5	IIa
" II	6	0	0	6	
" III	7	7	7	7	
Sun.	8	8	8	8a	
Epiph.	9	9	9	9	(XII)
Sun. I	10	Rom. 12	10	A	
II	11	11	11	11	
III	12	12	12	12	
IV	13	13	13	13	
V	14	0	0	14	
VI	15	0	0	15	
Sept.	16	16	16	16s	
Sex.	17	17	17	17	
Quinq.	18	18	18	18	
Quad. I	19	19	19	19	
II	20	20	Mt. 15	20	
III	21	21	21	21	
IV	22	22	22	22	
Pass.	23	23	23	23	
Palm	24	24	Jn. 13	24	XXXVII
Easter	25	25	25	25	(XLIV)
Low I	26	26	26	26	A
II	27	27	27	27	LVII
III	28	28	28	28	LVIII
IV	29	29	29	29	LIX
V	30	30	30	30	LX

Sundays	List no.	Smaragdus.		Collects	
		Epist.	Gosp.	Greg.	Gel.
Ascen.	31	31	31	31	A
Sun.	32	32	32	32	LXI
Pent.	33	33	33	33	A
Trin. I	34	Apoc. 4	Jn. 3	34	O
II	35	1 Jn. 4	Lk. 16	A	(LXV)
III	36	35	35	35	
IV	37	36	36	A	
V	38	37	Lk. 6	36	I
VI	39	38	37	37	II
VII	40	39	38	38	III
VIII	41	40	39	39	IV
IX	42	41	40	40	Vb
X	43	42	41	41	VI
XI	44	43	42	A	$\{^{\text{VII}}_{\text{A}=\text{Vb}}$
XII	45	44	43	43	VIIIb
XIII	46	45	44	44	IX
XIV	47	46	45	A	$\{^{\text{X}}_{\text{A}=\text{VIIIa}}$
XV	48	47	46	46	XI
XVI	49	48	47	47	O
XVII	50	49	48	48	XIII
XVIII	51	50	49	56	XIV
XIX	52	51	50	A	XV
XX	53	52	51	A	XVI
XXI	54	53	52	50	
XXII	55	54	53	51	
XXIII	56	55	54	52	
XXIV	57	56	55	53	
(XXV)	58	57	56	A	
(XXVI)	59			55	
(XXVII)	60			57	

The study of the relationship between Collects, Epistles, and Gospels is one of analogies. It is not purely fictitious, for each Holy Sacrifice, being a moral unit, must have parts that coalesce. The liturgy is a sublime creation, a symphony, the outpouring of myriad souls illuminated with grace divine and sharpened by the multitudinous experiences of entire generations. It was saintly artists' hearts and minds and pens and power that accomplished the final polishing and redaction; it

was the vicars of Christ who lent their authorization. Order, agreement, and harmony, were both desired and realized by the authors and revisers of this inimitable production, so that an intelligent inquiry into the spirit of the liturgy cannot be properly conducted independently of this preoccupation.

One word should perhaps be emphasized before determining our conclusions. It is this. The names of Gelasius and Gregory would hardly have been associated with the sacramentaries, were it not for distinction acquired by some public act, direction, or sanction proceeding from them and affecting the liturgy of their day. Hence, even though we grant they were not the originators of the sources inscribed with their names, we may nevertheless readily conceive that the impulse or coloring imparted by them to existent customs would be manifest in the earliest written records of those customs. The sacramentaries were compilations, not new compositions. On the other hand, the liturgy is no Egyptian mummy. It was not embalmed and interred either by Gelasius or Gregory, or Pius V. It has always been living and growing, ever subject to the same increase that is annually accruing to it under our eyes. There is this difference, however, to be admitted between the augmentations of a millennium ago and those of to-day. These are purely accidental, those were along essential lines. We are witnesses to liturgical embellishment; our forefathers of early medieval fame, to liturgical construction.

The sacramentaries are only milestones along a stoutly paved way. Even the first is far removed from its beginning. They are signposts and signals rather than terms, and their contents antedate them by many a year. How then are we to sum up the evidence they furnish?

Briefly, they lead us back into an impenetrable period in the history of the liturgy, the centuries between the second and sixth. Once we cross the threshold of the sixth century in our retreat we get within an inscrutable horizon, where anything more definite than the existence of a liturgy or of several liturgies must become a matter of conjecture.

The last, or Gelasian, column of the scheme indicates our nearest clear-cut approach to this limit. It shows us an admirable stability in the Roman cult from Palm Sunday to Pentecost. Two-thirds of the Collects, six out of nine, were prac-

tically the same as our own and were prescribed for the same Sundays. Quadragesima, Christmas, and Advent are provided for, but with three exceptions their Collects are suppressed in the scheme because they are so different from ours. Advent, from its position, would seem to be a later institution. The series of prayers I to XVI, agreeing so favorably with Nos. 38 to 53, were assigned "for Sundays" without further designation. They would seem to have been used to fill up gaps between saints' days. The Sundays after Epiphany and Pentecost were accordingly no part of a methodically developed program, and could scarcely be half covered by the so-called "Sunday" prayers. Evidently the saints had begun to intrude on the Lord's day.

This was the state of the Roman liturgy in the sixth and seventh centuries, and the more stable part of it, for Pascal time, may possibly antedate Gelasius, who was pope from 492 to 496 A. D. It is significant that the Paschal section, the first that became fixed, revolves about the persuasive mystery on which the Apostle of the Gentiles most insisted, the Resurrection.

Passing now to the Gregorian column, we find it overcharged with six Sundays after Epiphany and twenty-seven after Pentecost. These should all be struck out, if we wish to keep intact the nucleus of the sacramentary which Pope Adrian sent to Charlemagne some time between 781 and 791. They are additions attributable to Gallican influence that were incorporated into the sacramentary between the ninth and the eleventh century. They may even pass as creations of that time, if we subtract the fourteen Gelasian prayers from the group after Pentecost.

After this elimination the evolution resulting between the seventh century and the ninth is clear. Three new Advent orations came into vogue and these, united with Gelasian LXXXI, constitute our present group. The current Collects for Christmas-Epiphany, with those for Low Sunday, Ascension, and Pentecost, appeared for the first time; while eight new prayers were composed for the Sundays from Septuagesima to Passion Sunday inclusive. The Palm Sunday prayer is Gelasian.

From these comparisons we see that only three new Sunday Collects were added to the list after the eleventh century, viz., nos. 10, 49, 54. These were inserted into the revision of Pius V, in the sixteenth century, while eight orations (A's) of the Gregorian sacramentary were suppressed, and one, no. 56, was displaced. The number of Sundays after Pentecost was thus reduced from twenty-seven to twenty-four.

Stated more precisely, the distribution is:

eleventh century and after: 10, 49, 54	equal 3
ninth to eleventh century: 11-15, 34, 36, 37, 55-57	equal 11
seventh to ninth century: 1, 3-9, 16-23, 26, 31, 33	equal 19
fifth to seventh century: 2, 24, 25, 27-30, 32, 35, 38-48, 50-53	equal 24
Total, or 60 minus 3 abolished, viz., 58, 59, 60	equal 57

With these results before us, is it not deeply affecting to reflect that even the words we utter at the altar are the faithful reproduction of those that echoed in the Crusaders' camp, and inflamed through meditation the hearts of stalwart men like Godfrey, Peter the Hermit, and St. Bernard? They are the keynote of the Church's hymn. They unlock the rhythmic secrets of the Church's bosom.

For that reason we are reluctant to dismiss them before making one more comparison. In holy Mass the Collects precede a rubrical Epistle and Gospel which are also interpretations of the soul of Christ's spouse. The table shows that with the exception of four Lessons and six Gospels, Pius V has preserved for us a selection that was made before the ninth century. There is only one inversion in the list, namely, that of the third and fourth Epistles of Advent. What determined this choice and order? What motive could there have been for substituting new Gospels and Epistles for certain old ones? In the event that the original sequence of Epistles and Gospels respectively was to be preserved, why were so many successive combinations of each broken up on the Sundays after Pentecost? Why were several of them disjointed from their original Collects? The solution of these questions will be attempted in a special study. At present it is enough to get our mechanical bearings and, taking them as a basis, trust to the future to pierce the veil.

Here, as above, the distinction of seasons is the starting point, and Easter-Pentecost, not Advent, must rank first; second comes the preparatory season for Easter, beginning with Septuagesima; third, Christmas-Epiphany; fourth, Advent; and in the fifth place, as if an afterthought, are ranged the Sundays after Epiphany and Pentecost.

Now in the Easter season the Epistles, Gospels, and Collects have been in perfect agreement since the epoch of Charlemagne. In Septuagesima there have been slight alterations; in the Christmas-Epiphany season, more noteworthy ones; in Advent, a total readjustment; after the Epiphany, four insertions and one change; after Pentecost, such a remarkable fracture between Epistles and Gospels that only one combination, no. 35, has been left unharmed, and even that has been displaced.

Of the prayers for this season, ten (37-41, 43, 44, 46-48), adhere to the original Gospel in preference to the Epistle; not one favors the Epistle, save in the solitary case (35) where the Gospel is joined to it; and all the others are entirely disconnected from their previous setting.

In treating of the arrangement of the Collects, construction implied composition and insertion; not so with the Epistles and Gospels. They were already composed. In the primitive Church continuous reading of the four Evangelists in particular and the Bible in general was the law, and not the reading of extracts. The latter custom was a compromise and a concession to changed conditions. Yet it was dictated by the liturgical spirit and that spirit takes wisdom as its guide.

We should not, then, consider analogies in liturgical combinations or units as accidental, nor as features that an artistic temperament or a full-souled religious character may regard with indifference. They are the ligaments of the structure, the clamps of the edifice. They should even be searched out, and it is to be hoped that this preliminary study of the external correspondence of part to part within given seasons will aid in detecting beneath the surface something more substantial than a thread of Ariadne, something more worthy of the Word of God, of the voice of Christ and His Church.

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SOCIALISM OR FAITH.

III. "My Brother's Keeper?"

"BUT, if the State is only a policeman," argued Father Huetter, "how is it that we find its power working only for the protection of the one side?"

"Well?" Dean Driscoll questioned, for he knew that the young priest would have an illustration ready.

"For instance, when John Sargent—The Milton Machinery Company—appealed to the Governor for troops to protect the plant against the strikers here, the Governor was willing to send them. He would have sent them had you not personally taken the matter to him and shown him that there was really no need for such protection."

"Yes," the Dean admitted, "he would have sent them. He is sworn to preserve the outward peace of the law."

"Put it on that ground, then; the business of the State is solely to preserve order. How much was the State willing to spend for the purpose? It would have cost five thousand dollars for transportation, and one thousand dollars a day to pay and keep a regiment here. The State thought itself bound to spend that money as a preventive measure. Now, suppose, on the other hand, that you had telegraphed the Governor, saying: My people are starving; they do not need soldiers, they need bread; they are desperate, and if they are not fed there will be riot and destruction; instead of sending soldiers, send an officer of the State here to distribute the thousand dollars a day for food and clothing; that will prevent all disorder.

"That would have been intelligent prevention, and protection for all. But what would have happened if you had sent such a telegram?"

"Well," said the Dean with a twinkle under his gray brows, "about the second day, I would have gotten a letter from the Bishop asking me if I did not feel that I was getting old."

"And you would have been headlined in the papers," Father Huetter went on, smiling, "as the priest Socialist. And your friends would have said—"

"Oh, they'd be charitable," broke in the Dean, "they'd hardly go farther than to say temporary madness, though some might go so far as to say senile decay."

"And yet it would have been the simplest and wisest measure of police protection that could have been suggested."

"You are right, Father, without a doubt. But this State, and it is, perhaps, the most intelligent commonwealth in the world, is not yet educated up to the idea."

"Then, is Socialism right when it tells us that the State must be forcibly made to see its problems?"

"Socialism, my boy, no more goes to the root of the matter of Labor and Capital in this State than does the Fourth Dimension. Socialism is a philosophy of life, founded on the false premise that human happiness can be secured through the equal distribution of money.

"Rightly or wrongly, this Republic is founded on the directly opposing theory, that human happiness can only be secured by the individual doing that which he wishes to do. Almighty God would seem to have recognized that theory, in giving men free will.

"Rightly or wrongly, again, this Republic lives on the dogma that a government is the expression of the will of the majority of individuals. If the government be wrong or weak or faulty, then the blame lies on the majority of individuals. They and they alone have the remedy in their hands.

"Both of these fundaments of Americanism may be wrong. But, right or wrong, they are the only principles upon which men will ever really consent to be governed."

"But," said Father Huetter, rising, "how can any government pretend to be the will of the people when it permits one man, John Sargent, one individual, by his greed and hardness to force suffering upon six or eight thousand individuals, every one of whom is, in theory, just as important to the government as is he? Does the majority of individuals in this State wish that?"

"No," the Dean agreed sadly, "it is a great and terrible sin upon the public conscience. But it is the sin of indifference, the indifference of the great and careless many to the things that do not immediately concern them. The public conscience is muddy, and slow to form itself. It is ever years behind the advancing complications of life. It hears about this strike, knows that there is suffering here. It would be glad to put an end to the suffering if that could be done out of hand.

A small part of the public goes so far as to put its hand in its pocket and send a few dollars to Jim Loyd to relieve a little of the suffering. Then it goes about its own business, the business of living and making money and rearing children and dying. It is a busy public. Some day it will rouse itself and frame an effective law forcing the fair and peaceable adjustment of all labor troubles. But it will do that simply, and as a matter of course, because it occurs as the right thing to do, not because it will expect thereby to remove the discontent and suffering of the world.

"Then it will walk away, and let the result take care of itself. It is a loose and haphazard way, indeed; but it is the way of a young and untrammeled people that refuses to be governed more than is absolutely necessary. Some day, maybe, this people will be stricken terribly for its reckless confidence in itself. But, dear God in His mercy soften the blow! For this is a beautiful land, a young David among the nations! And the heart, O God! The heart of this people is good!" The tired old eyes lifted and glowed warm and clear with his love for the land and the people to whom he had given a good man's all, a life of service.

"And I sit here," he went on, shyly dropping the mask over his feelings, "prosing to you, young man, when it's long past your bedtime, prosing of the dullness of the people, the great bewildered, many-headed people; and I do not know what is right myself, in the simplest thing that comes to my hand.

"I kept the troops away from here. And did I do right? Now you saw what John Sargent did to-day. Brought in two hundred deputy sheriffs whom he had forced Sheriff Beals to swear in. That will cost John Beals his office at the next election, but that does not help now. These are worse than soldiers would have been, for they are gathered from everywhere, under no discipline. Sargent can get them to do anything. The soldiers, at least, would have obeyed only their officers. I fear I did wrong."

"No. I'm sure you were wise, Dean. The public knows that these men are the hired guards of Sargent, even though they wear the badge of the county. A conflict with them means bitterness and maybe bloodshed, but it will not discredit the cause of the strikers. On the other hand, if the men fought

with the soldiers they would have to be beaten in the end anyhow, and it would lose them the sympathy of the State."

"I do not know," said the Dean. "I walked up past the mill in the dusk. They were there, his guards, with the seal and the authority of the law upon them, slinging their rifles carelessly and parading before the gates. Every move, every look of theirs was provocation. And our own men and boys were strung along on the other side of the street, standing nervous and cowed. They were on their own ground, mind you; in their own town; looking gloomily up at the mill to which they give their lives. Yet every man was feeling somehow that he was an outlaw. Now you do not have to impress that upon a man very many times until he begins to feel like agreeing with you, and making it good.

"See what it is, now, to be an old man, and a priest of Peace, and yet to be unregenerate!" Father Huetter bit back a smile as the Dean confessed. "I had not worked my life out in that mill. I was not branded an outlaw and provoked. I was not hungry. Yet there was not man or boy there with blacker anger in his heart than I had. If anything had happened in that moment, I would have fought blindly, senselessly, with nothing to fight for, nothing to win. So, I have seen men fight the torment of death.

"Forgive me," he said quickly, "I was beside myself. Think of it. I know that there is not one of those hungry, despairing boys in that crowd to-night who is not better off, richer, in his strong hands and his clean heart, than is John Sargent. But did *I* think of that when the anger swept over me? How can they? I fear. How long can they hold themselves?"

"I think they are doing wonderfully," said Father Huetter quietly. "Loyd has them in hand again as well as ever. And he is everywhere. He never worked ten hours a day in the mill as furiously as he works twenty now at this."

"That is well," nodded the Dean. "His heart needs work in these days. It's the best thing he could get now, plenty of it. And go you to your bed now. I've talked you blind-sleepy with my prating, and you've your early morning ahead of you. I must read something, for the peace of my mind."

"I guess I *will* say Good-night, Dean." The young priest swung out of the room and went lightly up the stairs to his own quarters.

The Dean turned to his book and dropped into his characteristic reading attitude. He sat like a boy at a school desk, one long arm stretched out idly across the desk, the other hand cupped over his eyes and supporting his head. Under the seventy-four years of life and hard work he carried a boy's fresh heart and a boy's direct, unconscious way of things. He read from old Ramon de Monte Brazo peering down from his monastic eyrie in the Pyrenees at the doings of Simon de Montfort and the Albigenses on the plains of Provence.

The ancient monk was a faint-heart, it seemed. He saw the whole of Christianity disrupted by the schism of these terrible people: princes and kings fell away from the Church and the world tumbled about men's ears. Surely it was the end of all things. See now, the Dean chided with the freedom of old friendship, this it is to be of little faith. You are dead and dust and forgotten, and so are they. Worse than they have come and gone and will come again and go, and the great, lumbering world goes on, with the shoulder of God keeping it in the way. So shall I be dead and dust, with my worrying and my people, without even a little black-letter book to tell what disturbed me. John Sargent and Jim Loyd, Autocrat and Socialist, trying to split the earth between them and then lying down to give back their shares of the dust of it. And I, a blind man poking futilely with a stick, thinking I am helping or hindering!

His eyes stayed upon the book, but his mind strayed away to far countries. It was the hour when he loved to sit alone and feel the peace of sleep and forgetfulness settle down over his people and his little city. Father Tenney once said that the Dean never went to his own bed until he had tucked in the covers over the town of Milton.

All men in Milton knew his custom, knew that so long as the light burned in the little library the door was open, knew that Father Driscoll, himself, would come to the door to greet. And men came, men who did not find it easy to come in the broad, glaring day. Men came whose faces were not seen in church. Men came with trouble and shame and sorrow, for joy does not come, hesitating, in the night.

Their steps were not the hurrying, frightened steps that come from the bedside of sudden sickness. They were steps

that lagged, and stopped, perhaps, in front of the door, and then went on past; only to return still more slowly, and hesitate, and then step quickly, with sudden-caught resolution, up to the door.

A step came now, one different from other steps; a quiet step, of a man not courting observation, yet determined, as of a man with fixed purpose. The Dean, listening, did not recognize that step among the other types that he knew.

The short, quick ring brought the Dean to the door, and he extended his hand to draw into the circle of the hall light a man—John Sargent!

The two greeted mechanically and then stood facing each other a moment: the Dean puzzled, but frank and ready to meet his man upon whatever ground; Sargent scowling fixedly his purpose set upon his face.

The Dean quickly remembered himself, and led the way into the library. He saw that Sargent was seated comfortably, and then made business of turning his own chair away from the desk and lowering himself into it, giving the man full time for his opening.

"When this strike started," Sargent began, without address or preface, "I kept in touch with it from New York. Day and night for nearly three months I had a grip on it by the end of a wire. I should have come here in the beginning—but never mind that. Long before the end of that time, I came to the conclusion that this was no ordinary strike. It was not the while-you-wait, flash-in-the-pan sort that the unions order, just for a chance to curse the men who have the brains to make money."

Father Driscoll shifted easily back into his chair, prepared to listen at length.

"It was an intelligent strike," Sargent continued his course of reasoning. "It attended strictly to the business of striking, and it did nothing else. I said to myself: 'That is a one-man strike. No union or set of men could handle it that way. There is one big man with brains behind it.' I wired my people here:

"'There is one man behind that strike. Who is he?'

"'Loyd,' they said.

"'Get him,' I ordered.

"'Can't be done,' they said; 'Too big and too straight'."

Father Driscoll nodded sharply.

"There is no such man," Sargent came back with a rasp. "No man lives who cannot be bought, for something."

The old priest straightened tensely in his chair. But he said nothing. He wished to hear the rest.

"Then I came here myself," Sargent took up his story again, "to look Jim Loyd over; to get his price. There was nothing in the mill to offer him. But every man needs money; always needs money. I offered him fifty thousand dollars. You've heard that, I suppose?"

The Dean sat like a statue, with no expression in his face except that of contempt and disgust of the man's coarse cynicism.

"You wouldn't say so, of course," Sargent commented.

"And it got him! I tell you, it got him!" he broke out, bringing his hand down on the arm of his chair. "Why, in another minute he'd have been reaching out his hand for it! And then he thought of something, and stopped. And then he wanted to kill me. Cheerful beggar! Then he rushed out of the office like a madman.

"What was it he had thought of? That's what I wanted to know. They had told me he was a Socialist. That put me off the trail. I knew I could buy any professional Socialist in the world for half the money.

"Then I found out he was a Catholic, and I said—phutt—I might have known! You never can tell when a Catholic is going to remember something, and back up on you.

"Then I found that he was something of a protégé of yours, that he owed you a good deal; and I said—"

"My dear Mr. Sargent," interrupted the Dean, elaborating his politeness, "you have found out a great deal, but your information is not all exact. Jim Loyd does not owe me anything—Jim Loyd *pays* his debts."

Sargent winced and stared. Two things had struck him. He was a gentleman in the house of another gentleman, and that other had had a chance to note pointedly for him a lack of politeness on his part. Also, what the Dean had emphasized about Jim Loyd paying his debts sounded oddly like a threat, and it puzzled him. He did not know what it meant.

"Well, I suppose I ought to have addressed you as Father, but I'm not used to—"

"Never mention it," the Dean waved the apology aside, "it is purely a matter of—taste. You were saying—?"

Under the Dean's cool badgering, Sargent was losing his temper and, with it, the control of the conversation; and he knew it. But he picked up the thread again surlily:

"I said then, and I was right: 'Jim Loyd's head did not furnish the brains for this strike.' There was something older and bigger and wiser than Jim Loyd in this. He is brave enough, and bold enough, I'll give him that. But he is not steady or sure enough in purpose. There was something powerful, and gray, and deep-in-the-root behind him. And that was the power of the Catholic Church. That was you."

"Ah," said the Dean smoothly, "and have you perhaps brought the fifty thousand with you, for me?"

"No." Sargent snapped. "I haven't got anything that you want. I know that. I am not a fool."

"Um!" The Dean clamped his teeth down upon his anger. When he answered, it was in a voice of smoothly cutting steel.

"Mr. Sargent," he said, "I think you would do well to come to the point. I am an old man, but I regret that my temper is not what it should be."

Sargent was suddenly steadied by the tone of the old priest. He had not come here to quarrel. He knew how wrong and utterly indefensible was his position with this old man whose life and works challenged everything that John Sargent was and did.

"At least," he said, breathing quickly in the effort to recover himself, "your Church and you are bound to listen to reason. I put it this way: Your Church is the Church of the poor, of the masses. Yes. A man does not have to be a student to know that. All he has to do is to get up early enough on a Sunday to see them hurrying to Mass. There's something there that they want very badly, or my men wouldn't climb out of their bed to go after it. They'd send the children after it, or tell you to send your sermon around with the Sunday paper.

"But the masses, the people, as they call themselves, never perpetuate anything. They roll and they shift forever: it's

history. And the history of your Church is that she has lasted all this time because she had the wisdom to stand by the things that last, the powers upon which civilization rests. The right and the strength of civilization stands on the inviolability of private property. Government is organized and supported for just that one thing. And I tell you that in this country just now, more than in any other place or time, your Church, for her very life, has got to stand by the order of things or go down with that order.

"I am no ranter. I make money discounting the scares and the bugbears of other men. But I can see what is coming. Socialism, ramping through this country, is going to throw it into the most terrible war that men have ever seen. The powers of order will fight to the last ditch for the rights of man—the real rights of man; the right of a man to use his brains and his work; the right of a man to own what he has gained, and to give it to his children. These powers of order may go down. Our civilization and all that it has secured to us may go down. But if they do, if they do, your Church will go down with them.

"Does a mob stop at one thing. I tell you, not a rag of a thing that is old, or time-honored, or blood-earned, will be left. Your Church must stand with the strength of property and of private rights and hold back this crisis, or she will go down with the crash of the rest."

The Dean was interested. It seemed that he had heard snatches of something like this somewhere before.

"Your history," he said, smiling a little grimly, "does you credit, Mr. Sargent. Your prophesy does no credit to the good sense and the brains of American men and women. But it seems that I have heard something very like it before, heard it, now I remember, from the Socialists here on the streets of Milton on Labor Day. But both you and the Socialists forget one thing: the Catholic Church is the *one* institution on this earth whose existence is assured. Any calculation, any prophesy from either of you that does not count in that fact is bound to be faulty."

The simple, unarguing faith of the big, keen-eyed old man angered Sargent, as simple, unanswering obstacles always anger men of his domineering type. He broke out into what he had really come to say.

"Let that stand," he said. "I'm not interested. You want the point. The other day you blocked me when I asked the Governor for the protection of the State troops. To-day I had to buy protection from the county. This evening you walked up past my mill. Your men—they are my men, for I feed them and give them a chance to live, when they are willing to take it—were grouped along there by the hundred, looking for a chance to attack my property. You, by your very presence there, were giving them countenance.

"You have furnished Jim Loyd with the brains and the steady guiding power for this strike from the beginning. You preach peace. Your Church stands for law and order. And yet, if you do not actually incite rebellion, you, at least, give it strength. Not only do you give it the help of your own influence, which is great, but you put the power of your Church behind it. You make it a holy war. And do I not know what it does for those men? Do I not know that you could go out upon your altar any Sunday and say ten words that would break the backbone of this strike?

"And yet with this power and this responsibility in your hands, what do you do with it? You use it to encourage lawlessness, to continue disorder and strife.

"I have brought men in here to protect my property. And protect it and me they will. And if anything happens, you, *you*, do you understand? will be responsible. You have all tried to ruin me. If I lose this strike, I am a ruined man. And I will not lose it. I swear I will not lose it."

The Dean rose to his feet with a snap. The seventy-odd years slipped away from his shoulders, and he towered over John Sargent, his whole form shaking with indignation at the contorted and monstrous charges that he had heard. But temper and voice were well in hand when he spoke.

"You talk of lawlessness and disorder, Mr. Sargent. In the name of truth, has there been a single lawless act, a wild word, that has not been directly, directly I say, incited by you? You brought these men here to-day, not to protect your property—it needed no protection. You brought them here for the one purpose, to provoke the strikers to a fight. You want one short, bloody conflict that you think will turn the older men against the strike.

"Your plan is clear. It is logical. But remember, there is just one name for that plan. And when you have made it and go to execute it you are outside the protection of all law.

"You talk of Socialism. Who, I ask you, who brought the agitators here on Labor Day to incite riot and destruction? Who but you, by your own act, tried to provoke the crowd to violence?"

"I did that," said Sargent brazenly, "and I will do anything else, anything, I say, to save myself from ruin."

"Sir, you talk of ruin, loss of money to you, as though it were the end of the world. I saw your father, forty years ago, when you were a child, down there by the river, where your big turbine wheel is now, blowing his forge with his own arm. He did not have the money to buy his iron. He built the first of the machines that have made your fortune with his own hands, piece by piece. He had to give a lien on it for the materials. And do you tell me that he was not better off then, a richer man, than you to-day, with millions going through your hands?

"If you were ruined to-morrow would you ever feel the gnaw of hunger? Would a child of yours ever look up at you with starvation talking through its little cheek bones?

"Man, have you lost all measure of the worth of things? Do you not know that it is a greater thing in the sight of God and man that one child should go to bed hungry to-night in this town than that all your money should be taken from you?"

"Do you want me to feed them, and thus arm them against myself?" Sargent said harshly.

"They are not fighting you. The men are fighting for themselves, their right to live as free men. And the women and the children suffer—that is their part—that other women and children, to come, may not have to suffer as do they. Put aside all talk of Socialists and future and classes. Three thousand women and children went to their beds unfed this night, all to save you the loss of your toy, money!"

"I didn't make the condition," growled Sargent. "It's the fault of their men. Am I my brother's keeper?"

"In God's name!" said the Dean swinging about, his face ablaze. "For your soul, do not say those words. Do you know who said them? Do you know?"

Sargent got to his feet. He was dazed by the pain and horror in the priest's voice.

"They're in your Bible, somewhere, I suppose. I don't know," he said slowly.

"They are the words that Cain muttered to God, when he had murdered his brother. And after that he said: '*I am accursed . . . Every man that findeth me shall slay me.*'"

The two men stood eye to eye, in silence, until John Sargent could stand it no longer. His eyes fell, and he stood nervously rubbing the backs of his clenched hands together.

Out of the stillness of the night, into the stillness of the room came the sound of a single shot.

It was a distant shot, but in the absolute silence it spoke unnamed terror. For in it there was the ring of death.

"It has come!" the Dean groaned. "I feel it."

John Sargent reached for his hat and, without a word, hurried from the room and the house.

The Dean, almost mechanically, turned to his desk, reaching for the oil-stocks and stole. He did not remember his hat.

A few long, swift strides down the street brought him up with the shorter man ahead of him. Together they hurried down into State street. Strange companions, with strangely different thoughts and motives, yet both impelled in the one direction by the same thing.

The effect of that single shot had been a thing to inspire awe. It showed how nervously and how little men rested in those nights. A little, sharp, staccato sound it had been; the bark of a sawed-off rifle. In an ordinary night not twenty people in the little city would have remembered hearing it. Now at the sound of it men were hurrying out already from hallways and from the side streets, half-dressed, anxious, alert men. Hardly a word was spoken. Men saved their breath for —they knew not what.

It is a fearsome thing to see men troop together, out of nowhere, in silence, in the night; and to see how a common impulse, without prompting, leads them together and irresistibly to the point they seek. Does soul speak to soul, or is there a medium, more subtle than the air with its sound waves, that carries vibrations of excited thought from mind to mind?

"Do you feel it?" said the Dean in a low tone to the man at his side. "The power of a thousand minds working on the one thing. I had rather face that crowd howling, with guns in their hands, than face them so, silent, with their naked hands."

Sargent said nothing.

Now as they go farther down the street and the crowd thickened so that progress was slower, a murmur came up over the heads of the crowd, meeting them.

It was a word, at first, a name, that ran leaping from lip to lip, one word—*Loyd.*

Then there were three words—*Loyd is killed;* words that seemed to paralyze the lips that passed them on. For a block or two there was nothing more: only the blanched faces and the angry breath of men and those three words—*Loyd is killed.*

Farther on, there were more words, confusing words, contradicting words. Men gasped and sweated to get them right —"Not *Jim* Loyd—not Jim—Harry—young brother—Harry Loyd, not Jim."

A crowd was coming now from the opposite direction. It was a procession that came on up the street. Men walked slowly, packed together, with bare heads. A useless ambulance tried to clang its way through the crowd. A stalled trolley car stood helpless, shedding a pale, yellowish light about it. There was no going or moving for any.

But the word came clear now. In hurried, bated whispers, true; but plain, very plain.

Harry Loyd, Jim Loyd's young brother, had been up River Road. All the world could have told you that Harry had been spending the evening with Nonie Gaylor. The lad had walked whistling from Nonie's doorstep, to his death, in front of the main gate of the mill. Men, running at the shot, had found him there—dead as they reached him—lying, face down, in the middle of the paved roadway. The news was very explicit, now.

They had found the guards lined behind the barred gates, guns ready at every knot-hole.

From that packed body of men that moved with slow, shuffling step up the street there came a confused, rising murmur. A murmur that asked questions, but did not wait for answers.

A murmur that rose and fell and rose again, ever a little higher. It was a murmur that told that the crowd was coming back from stupor and stunned unbelief. In another minute they would be hearing their own question, and looking for the answer.

Shrilly and swiftly the questions ran up and down the street, more swiftly than had run news before them. Shrilly the questions rose one above the other, as flame leaps above flame, until men stood, at last, to listen: and to answer.

Of what use to kill John Sargent's hired guards? *They* had no interest in this matter. Of what good to burn the mill? Could the mill suffer?

One man is guilty! Where is he? He was seen to leave the mill to-night, came the answer. Did he go back to the mill? He did not. He is still in the town, then? On the street, maybe?

Some man will meet him: some man will put hands, maybe, upon John Sargent. What will that man do who puts hand on John Sargent? Hold him for the law? There is no law, for John Sargent.

What will that man do? He will kill John Sargent, with his hands. Kill—with his hands—with his hands—with his hands!

The cry rose shriller and shriller until it was no longer articulate. It was a whine: the whine of a wire in the tempest. But the meaning all men knew: the man who first puts hands on John Sargent shall kill him.

The Dean turned to the man who had been at his elbow. He was gone. The man never lived who was brave enough to face a thousand men, his fellows, each wishing to kill him with bare hands. It is a death no man can think of.

And, a few moments before, John Sargent had heard the words of Cain: *Every man that findeth me shall slay me.*

The Dean pushed down through the crowd to meet the centre of that body of packed men walking slow. Somehow they made way for him by the side of the mattress on which they carried the boy.

Jim Loyd had said: "I will bring him home so." And no man had dared to question.

Step by step, his white head showing all above the crowd, the priest walked behind Jim Loyd, who walked unseeing, unhearing, his hand lightly touching the shoulder of his dead brother. This had been his baby brother. He had carried him in his arms. And he had only left the four-year-old baby down to run for himself, when he himself, at twelve, had gone into John Sargent's mill, to get bread for them both.

"And, dear God!" the Dean breathed, "I said to that man: 'Jim Loyd always *pays* his debts!' How little a piece of the web of life do we see! And a word—what a word may mean!"

Slowly they came now up to the house, in a side street, where Jim Loyd lived.

When they had seen the door close upon its dead and its sorrow, men went back to the corner of the wide street. Their words were simple and elemental, as the talk of men is like to be when they have seen their dead.

They judged John Sargent there, without heat, without temper. He was guilty. The law could not reach him. He must die by the hands of one of them. It is a terrible thing when men in cool dispassion decide to kill. When many men, a thousand men, so decree, it would seem that the object must die, withered by their very thought.

But when the judgment was passed, the whine of the scent rose again. It demanded to know where John Sargent had been seen—who had seen him. Men whispered that he had been with Father Driscoll.

Then the Dean, stepping upon a horse-block at the corner, in the full light of an arc lamp, spoke. They were not ready to listen. They thought they knew what he would say. But no man was ready to say that he had not the right.

"Murder," he said slowly, "has been done this night. God, He alone, knows what it may lead to.

"Murder, such as was done first by Cain. And do you know, do you remember, what Cain said to God when he was charged and judged? Do you remember?" His voice rang out to catch the farthest of the crowd. He said, 'Every man that findeth me shall kill me'. You are saying, 'Let the first man who finds him kill him'.

"And what said the God Almighty of Justice and of Judgment?

"God said, 'Whosoever killeth Cain, vengeance shall be taken upon him sevenfold.' And a mark was put upon Cain, lest any man who found him should kill him.

"And I say to you: A mark is set this night upon John Sargent, so that no man shall kill him. He shall not die by your hands."

He stepped down from the stone and made his quiet way up the street toward the church.

Men looked after him—looked at each other—stood where they were, thinking.

RICHARD AUMERLE MAHER, O.S.A.

Havana, Cuba.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

Analecta.

ACTA PII PP. X

Constitutio Apostolica de Regimine Seminarii Maioris in Calabris.

PIUS EPISCOPUS

Servus Servorum Dei

Ad perpetuam rei memoriam.

Susceptum inde ab initio Pontificatus humanae in Christo instaurationis propositum ita exsequendum, Deo iuvante, duximus ut curarum Nostrarum partem multo maximam ea sibi vindicarent instituta, in quibus adolescentes clerici in Ecclesiae spem succrescunt. Nemo quippe est qui non experiendo compererit, bonos laicorum mores studiaque christianarum virtutum adeo cohaerere cum sancta clericorum vita, ut alterum, altero sublato, frustra quis se persequi posse confidat. Hinc perpetua Ecclesiae cura ut a sacerdotio arceantur indigni vel non satis idonei ministri; hinc assidua eiusdem sollicitudo ut qui probati vocatique a Deo sunt, ad illud ita comparentur, ut bonitate, disciplina ac scientia perutile religioni ac civitati exhibeant ministerium.

Hisce sane de causis, oblatas numquam non avide arripuimus occasiones ut pontificiae, hac in re, providentiae praeberemus argumenta. Nam et venerabiles fratres, Episcopos, quoties eos affari contigit, hortati vehementer sumus ut praecipuo quodam studio seminaria complecterentur, et viros misimus qui plura ex iis praesentes inviserent ad Nosque de eorum statu referrent, et datis litteris subsidiisque submissis, et solertia prudentiaque in rem accita SS. RR. Congregationum, et alia, quaecumque praesto esset, ratione, ita eiusmodi sacrae iuventutis domicilia fovimus, proveximus, ut non modo illud contenderemus quod praecipuum est, Christi nimirum bonum odorem ac disciplinae sanctae vigorem tueri, sed cetera etiam, ut facultas tulit, accuraremus quae, in ipso caducae huius vitae ordine, clericis ad proposita optima iuvandis usui esse dignoscerentur.

Quoniamque in dioecesibus bene multis, vel rei familiaris tenuitate, vel exiguo alumnorum numero, vel ceterarum inopia rerum, fieri non poterat ut seminaria suppeterent in quibus una cum litterarum studiis graviores etiam rite traderentur disciplinae, idcirco locorum Ordinariis auctores haud semel fuimus ut, collatis viribus, communia quaedam constituerent clericorum domicilia, in quibus plenius uberiusque philosophiam ac theologiam liceret attingere. Consiliis hisce in rem deductis in pluribus, vel extra Italiam, dioecesibus, factum est ut clericis iunioribus seorsum ab aliis constitutis, disciplina, vitae regimen, pietatis opera et cetera huc pertinentia ita praescriberentur, ut forent singulorum aetati studiisque magis accommodata, congregatisque numero pluribus adolescentibus scholae paterent auditorum diligentia doctrinaque magistrorum longe florentiores.

Sed quod in aliis regionibus utile videbatur, id in Italia, ob rerum adiuncta in quibus versamur, necessarium adeo visum est, ut nullam res pateretur moram. Hinc litteris die XVI ianuarii MCMV datis ad Cardinalem Praefectum sacri Consilii Episcoporum et Regularium, quam maxime Nobis curae esse ediximus ut in variis Italiae regionibus, ubi maior esset necessitas, communia haec seminaria conderentur, ac summatim iura attigimus quibus ea regi oporteret. Coeptis Nostris adfuit divina gratia, et adnitentibus Episcopis, quibus apprime perspectum erat quid Ecclesiae causa, quid tempora postularent, pau-

cis vix elapsis annis, in omni fere Italia eiusmodi excitata sunt maiora clericorum domicilia, quae favore semper, saepe collata etiam pecunia iuvare vel Ipsi haud omisimus.

Qua quidem in re provido caritatis consilio, quae illuc accurrit citius uberiusque ubi necessitas opitulandi maior, animum mature appulimus ad Calabriae Ecclesias. Praecipue quadam cura eas indigere exploratum erat simul ob seminariorum exiguitatem, simul ob rei familiaris angustias. Voluntatem Nostram propensiorem fecerunt recensiores clades, quibus florentissimam hanc provinciam ruinis oppressam luctuque completam doluimus. Suasit igitur amor ut iam impertitis pontificia largitate beneficiis aliud adderemus idemque mansurum, novis exstruendis aedibus in usum Calabriae clericorum, qui Ecclesiae ac civitati auspicia portenderent rerum longe meliorum.—De attribuenda sede deliberantibus, maximas ad rem habere opportunitates Catacensis urbs visa Nobis est, locumque in eius vicinia delegimus a Caelorum Domina appellatum: salubre atque amoenum praediolum, commeatu facile ac Jonii Tirrenique maris aspectu iucundissimum. Sumptu Nostro novi seminarii aedes condi ibi iussimus conditasque necessariis rebus instruximus, ut propensioris voluntatis testimonium Calabri cleri arctius Nobis devinciret animum officiique diligentiorem efficeret. Quin etiam eo curae Nostrae pertinuerunt ut primum alumnorum agmini rectorem praeficeremus Georgium De Lucchi, sacerdotem fide, pietate, doctrina Nobis probatissimum, eidemque immatura morte clericis suis erepto alium sufficeremus haud minore virtutum copia exornatum sacerdotem, quem non secus ac decessorem, episcopali auximus honore, ut vel amplior dignitas maiorem utrique conciliaret auctoritatem.

Rebusque iam satis feliciter procedentibus, nihil aliud superesse videtur quam ut opus, quod Calabrorum Episcoporum expetierunt vota, plausus excepit, spes magna prosequitur, firmiori aptiorique muniamus disciplina, ut uberior suppetat facultas ac spes educendi sacri ordinis ministros vitae sanctitatem et catholicae doctrinae decora in Ecclesiae bonum prae se ferentes.—Quod itaque in religiosae rei incrementum cedat et Calabris Ecclesiis benevertat, fundato prope Catacium auctoritate Nostra apostolica et a Nostro nomine, ut placuit, nuncupato maiori Seminario legitimi collegii iura attribuimus, idem-

que curae ac vigilantiae tradimus archiepiscoporum atque episcoporum, quorum dioeceses finibus continentur trium civilium provinciarum Regii, Consentiae et Catacii, ad leges quas infra scriptae sunt regendum, moderandum.

I. Aedes Seminarii, fundus qui aedibus adiacet, quaeque sive in fundo sive in aedibus sunt, in potestate Romani Pontificis sunt perpetuoque erunt.

II. Seminarium regatur auctoritate apostolicae Sedis, quae per sacram Congregationem Consistorialem quae visa fuerint administrabit.

III. Seminarii aedes destinantur omnibus provinciarum, quas supra nominavimus, clericis philosophiae ac theologiae auditoribus: quorum quidem, nisi speciale suffragetur apostolicae Sedis indultum, nemo poterit ad sacros Ordines promoveri quin ibidem hisce vacaverit disciplinis.

IV. Liceat omnibus Calabriae Ordinariis Seminarium hoc ut suum habere; illud, cum libuerit, adire; suos invisere clericos. Attamen, ut idem pro omnibus sit disciplinae ordo, nemini eorum fas esto peculiaria iussa, ne pro suis quidem clericis, dare extra communes regulas atque inconsulto vel abnuente Rectore.

V. Calabriae archiepiscopi atque episcopi in coetum coëant singulis annis de rebus Instituto communibus consulturi. Hisce vero in coetibus qui, non secus ac annuae episcopales collationes, haberi poterunt in Seminarii aedibus, congregati archiepiscopi atque episcopi de alumnorum disciplina ac moribus, de docendi ratione, de re oeconomica diligenter inquirant et quae opus fuerint provideant.

VI. Coetui praeerit Praelatus gradu vel aetate dignior, ab actis vero erit Seminarii Rector.

VII. Esto Episcoporum eas ferre leges, ea inire, ex communi iure, consilia, quae bono Instituti conferre iudicentur.

VIII. Ubi primum Episcopi in coetum, ut supra, convenerint, tres eligant Praesules qui adsint Rectori ad consilia de iis ineunda, quae graviora intra annum res et tempora invexerint, quaeque ipse in se Rector recipere aut nolit, aut nequeat. Electi Praesules quinquennium fungantur munere: quinquennio elapso, liceat eosdem confirmare, vel alios designare.

IX. Catacensi Ordinario in Seminarii administratione ac regimine eadem sunto iura, eaedem partes, quae ceteris regionis Ordinariis.

X. Seminarium, adnexae aedes hortusque adiacentes vi huius Constitutionis immunia sunto a parochi loci iurisdictione: parochialia munia, in iis quae Instituti naturae sunt consentanea, obeat Magister pietatis ex auctoritate Rectoris, cui, intra Seminarii fines, Ordinarii iura, officia ac privilegia attribuimus.

XI. Rectorem eligendi ius omne esto penes Romanum Pontificem; idemque designet Magistrum pietatis ac studiorum Moderatorem.

XII. Ceteros designare qui Rectori navent operam, qui doctrinas in scholis tradant, qui medici vel chirurgi expleant partes esto penes Episcoporum coetum; horum tamen designationi Rectoris consilia praeire volumus (post exquisitam ab eo trium, ut supra, Praesulum sententiam) et suffragium accedere S. C. Consistorialis. Haec omnia serventur quoties dimittendi iidem sint.

XIII. Theologiae Magistris, Rectore ac Moderatore studiorum praesidibus, facultas esto merentibus auditoribus conferendi gradus academicos, ad ea quae hac eadem in re statuta auctoritate Nostra sunt pro maiore Seminario Apuliae.

XIV. Alumni sacris Ordinibus initientur in Oratorio Seminarii. Episcopi vero in annuis coetibus eum designent qui initiationis Sacra per vices obeat. Caveat tamen Rector ut a singulis initiandis necessaria exhibeantur propriarum Curiarum documenta. Documenta vero haec, una cum testimonio collatorum Ordinum, Rector Curiis iisdem restituat, postquam retulerit in acta ad rem componenda atque in Seminarii tabulario asservanda.

XV. Quoad cetera, serventur leges quae in seminariorum regimine atque administratione sunt, ex communi Ecclesiae iure, servanda.

Hoc restat ut quotquot in maius Catacense Seminarium adlegantur, studeant omnes oblati a Deo beneficii magnitudinem pro merito aestimare; ac pietate, doctrina, ceteris omnibus virtutibus ita praestent, ut exspectationi desiderii Nostri ac suorum Episcoporum quam cumulatissime respondeant.

Quae denique hisce Litteris statuimus, decrevimus, indiximus, rata omnia firmaque permanere auctoritate Nostra volumus, iubemus.

Datum Romae apud sanctum Petrum anno Incarnationis Dominicae millesimo nongentesimo quarto decimo, die sacro Virgini Dei parenti designatae, Pontificatus Nostri anno undecimo.

A. CARD. AGLIARDI, S. R. E. *Cancellarius.*

C. CARD. DE LAI, S. C. Consistorialis *Secretarius.*

LITTERAE APOSTOLICAE.

ERECTIO NOVAE APOSTOLICAE DELEGATIONIS AUSTRALIENSIS.

PIUS PP. X.

Ad futuram rei memoriam.—In sublimi principis Apostolorum Cathedra nullis quidem meritis Nostris divinitus collocati, in omnes catholici orbis partes etiam ab hoc centro christianitatis magno terrarum marisque tractu seiunctas, tanquam e sublimi specula oculos mentis Nostrae convertimus, et quae rei sacrae procurationi melius gerendae conducant, illa sedulo quidem studio, auctoritate Nostra interposita, praestare satagimus. Iamvero latissime per Australasiae insulas christiano nomine diffuso, et catholica hierarchia praesertim inter Australiae gentes firmiter constituta, opportunum Nobis consilium visum est, remotos illos populos eorumque sacros pastores Romanae, huic apostolicae Sedi arctiore atque intimiore vinculo adstringere. Haec autem sollicitudo ut clarius catholicis illis gentibus appareret, iidemque populi dilectionis Nostrae beneficia uberius persentirent, novam in illis regionibus, sicuti iam passim pro aliis locis ad decus et tutamen Christianae religionis fieri consuevit, Apostolicam Delegationem constituendam censuimus. Quae cum ita sint, collatis consiliis cum VV. FF. NN. S. R. E. Cardinalibus negotiis propagandae Fidei praepositis, Motu Proprio atque ex certa scientia et matura deliberatione Nostris, deque apostolicae Nostrae potestatis plenitudine, praesentium vi Delegationem Apostolicam Australiensem erigimus atque constituimus, decernentes ut ipsa Delegatio ad Australiam, Tasmaniam et Novam Zelandiam suas curas extendat. Non obstantibus constitutionibus et ordinationibus apostolicis ceterisque aliis quibuscumque.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris, die XV aprilis MCMXIV, Pontificatus Nostri anno undecimo.

R. CARD. MERRY DEL VAL,
a Secretis Status.

S. CONGREGATIO DE RELIGIOSIS.

I.

DECRETUM DE NOVITIATUS TERMINO ET INTERRUPTIONE.

Cum propositae sint quaestiones sive circa tempus seu momentum, quo annus novitiatus compleri dicendus sit, sive circa modum, praesertim si novitius extra domum de licentia superiorum per aliquot tempus moratus fuerit, quo interruptus haberi possit, S. Congregatio Religiosis Sodalibus praeposita, ad anxietates praecavendas, praecipue quoad professionis validitatem, statuit et decrevit ut sequitur:

1. Annus integer novitiatus, qui solus ad validitatem professionis requiritur, in posterum non stricte de hora ad horam, sed de die in diem intelligi debet. Idem dicendum de tribus integris annis votorum simplicium, quae emissionem votorum solemnium praecedere debent.

2. Novitiatus interrumpitur ita ut denuo incipiendus et perficiendus sit: (*a*) si novitius a Superiore dimissus e domo exierit; (*b*) si absque Superioris licentia domum deseruerit; (*c*) si ultra triginta dies etiam cum licentia Superioris extra novitiatus septa permanserit.

3. Si novitius infra triginta dies, etiam non continuos, cum Superiorum licentia, extra domus septa permanserit, licet sub Superioris obedientia, requiritur ad validitatem, et satis est, dies hoc modo transactos supplere: at Superiores hanc licentiam nisi iusta et gravi de causa ne impertiant.

Quibus omnibus sanctissimo Domino nostro Pio Papae X relatis ab infrascripto sacrae Congregationis Secretario, Sanctitas Sua ea rata habere et confirmare dignata est, contrariis quibuscumque non obstantibus.

Datum Romae ex Secretaria sacrae Congregationis de Religiosis, die 3 maii 1914.

O. CARD. CAGIANO DE AZEVEDO, *Praefectus.*

L. * S.

✠ DONATUS, ARCHIEP. EPHESINUS, *Secretarius.*

II.

De Missis a Religiosis Sodalibus ad Intentionem Superiorum celebrandis.

Quaesitum est a sacra Congregatione de Religiosis:

I. An Sacrum facere ad intentionem praefixam a Superiore proprie actum internum constituat, qui minime subest voluntati Superiorum?

II. An Religiosus votorum simplicium, vi suae professionis, teneatur *ex iustitia,* aut solum ex caritate, ad celebrandum iuxta intentionem a Superiore praefixam, sibi reservata facultate celebrandi iuxta propriam intentionem in limitibus a Constitutionibus admissis?

III. An possint Superiores obligare sodales subditos in virtute sanctae obedientiae ad celebrandum iuxta praescripta a Constitutionibus?

Emi autem Patres Cardinales sacrae Congregationis de Religiosis, in plenario coetu ad Vaticanum habito die 21 martii 1914, praefatis dubiis responderunt:

Ad 1^{um} et 2^{um}. Providebitur in tertio.

Ad 3^{um}. Reformato dubio: "An Superiores Religiosi praecipere possint subditis suis etiam in virtute sanctae obedientiae ut ipsi celebrent secundum intentionem a Constitutionibus praescriptam vel ab ipsis Superioribus statutam, salvis exceptionibus a Constitutionibus vel a legitima consuetudine sancitis?", respondere censuerunt: Affirmative.

Quam Emorum Patrum responsionem sanctissimus Dominus noster Pius Papa X, referente infrascripto sacrae Congregationis Secretario, ratam habuit et confirmavit die 23 martii 1914.

Datum Romae ex Secretaria sacrae Congregationis de Religiosis, die 3 maii 1914.

O. Card. Cagiano de Azevedo, *Praefectus.*

L. * S.

✠ Donatus, Archiep. Ephesinus, *Secretarius.*

III.

De Confessione apud Orientales Sacerdotes instituta, et de Confessione Novitiorum.

Edito Decreto *de absolutione sacramentali religiosis sodalibus impertienda,* diei 5 augusti 1913, exorta sunt dubia, quorum solutio expetita fuit a S. Congregatione de Religiosis, nempe:

1. An Decretum sacrae Congregationis de Religiosis, die 5 augusti 1913, comprehendat etiam confessiones quas Religiosi ritus Latini faciunt apud Confessarios ritus Orientalis, et vicissim?

2. An idem Decretum comprehendat etiam novitios cuiuscumque Ordinis vel Congregationis?

Emi ac Revmi Patres Cardinales, in plenario coetu habito in aedibus Vaticanis die 21 martii 1914, reposuerunt:

Ad 1^{um} et ad 2^{um}. Affirmative.

Et sanctissimus Dominus noster Pius Papa X in audientia diei 23 eiusdem mensis et anni habita ab infrascripto sacrae Congregationis Secretario, responsiones Emorum Patrum approbare et confirmare dignatus est. Contrariis quibuscumque non obstantibus.

Datum Romae ex Secretaria S. Congregationis de Religiosis, die 3 maii 1914.

O. Card. Cagiano de Azevedo, *Praefectus.*

L. * S.

✠ Donatus, Archiep. Ephesinus, *Secretarius.*

SACRA CONGREGATIO RITUUM.

Decretum: Super Insuetos Cultus Titulos pro Ecclesiis et Sacris Imaginibus non adhibendos.

Nuper a sacra Rituum Congregatione exquisitum fuit: "An ecclesia dicari possit sacratissimo Cordi Iesu eucharistico eiusque tituli Imago seu Statua in altari maiori collocari?". Et sacra eadem Congregatio respondendum censuit: "Episcopus Ordinarius loci in casu substituat titulum liturgicum tam pro ecclesia quam pro Imagine seu Statua cum respectivo festo die propria recolendo et Officio adprobato, ex. gr. Ssmi Redemp-

toris, vel sacratissimi Cordis Iesu, aut Ssmi Corporis Christi, etc.: iuxta alia ipsius sacrae Congregationis responsa in similibus casibus: quae omnino consonant praescriptioni sa. me. Pii Papae IX diei 13 ianuarii 1875 et decreto S. Universalis Inquisitionis feriae IV 27 maii 1891: servatis de cetero quoad sacras imagines seu statuas decreto Tridentino sess. 25, *de veneratione sanctorum et imaginum*, et Constitutione fel. rec. Urbani Papae VIII *Sacrosancta Tridentina*, 15 martii 1642 (Decr. S. R. C. n. 810)".

Atque ita rescripsit et servari mandavit, die 28 martii 1914.

FR. S. CARD. MARTINELLI, *Praefectus.*

L. * S.

✠ PETRUS LA FONTAINE, EP. CHARYST., *Secretarius.*

ROMAN CURIA.

PONTIFICAL NOMINATIONS.

22 May: Mr. Luke J. Evers, of the Archdiocese of New York, made Privy Chamberlain supernumerary of the Pope.

23 May: Mgr. Joseph Ruesing, of the diocese of Omaha, made Domestic Prelate of the Pope.

27 May: Mr. Thomas Long, of the Archdiocese of Toronto, Canada, made Knight of the Order of St. Gregory, civil class.

Studies and Conferences.

OUR ANALECTA.

The Roman documents for the month are:

APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTION of Pope Pius X giving fifteen rules for the government of theological seminaries in Calabria.

APOSTOLIC LETTER establishing the Apostolic Delegation of Australasia.

CONGREGATION OF RELIGIOUS: (1) issues a decree concerning the exact length of the novitiate and concerning interruptions during the novitiate; (2) answers three questions regarding the celebration of Masses said by religious for the superior's intention; (3) settles doubts about confessions made by religious and novices of the Latin rite to priests of the Oriental rite; and vice versa.

CONGREGATION OF RITES publishes a decree on the taking of unusual titles for churches and statues.

ROMAN CURIA gives a list of recent pontifical appointments and nominations.

FATHER LEHMKUHL ON THE CONFESSION OF DOUBTFUL MORTAL SINS.

In the June number of the ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW a question was raised regarding the obligation of confessing doubtful mortal sins, and a quotation from the Moral Theology of the eminent author, P. Augustine Lehmkuhl, was cited as not being quite clear in settling the doubt. The following letter from our learned Jesuit friend will explain the passage referred to:

To the Editor, THE ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW.

I note in the June number of the REVIEW (pp. 731-732) that there is some difficulty about the meaning of a passage in my *Theologia Moralis* (Vol. I, n. 111, edit. XI, n. 200). The text reads as follows: "Sic standum est pro valore confessionis in dubio de dolore, *ne obligatio* repetendae confessionis imponatur (aliud vero dicendum, si quaestio deducitur ad valorem absolutionis seu reconciliationis cum Deo certo quaerendae, praecipue in mortis articulo—eatenus scil. in dubio dolore etc. non est standum pro valore actus, sed actus repetendus est, ut sit *certo validus*)."

In other words: You may apply the rule "standum est pro valore actus" when there is question about the "licitum" and

"illicitum", viz., in cases in which probabilism may be used. But where there is question of validity and invalidity, as when a definite effect must be obtained with certainty, the rule "standum est pro valore actus" is not applicable.

Does the passage cited above therefore mean that a penitent on his deathbed is obliged to repeat his entire confession? Certainly not. He is obliged to seek for greater security, so as to make his reconciliation with God more certain. The probability does not save him, if in reality his sorrow for sin has been insufficient. He is bound by his obligation to love God and by charity to himself to realize or secure his salvation. Therefore he is bound to supply certain sorrow for his doubtful one, and to seek absolution anew. The confession in this case is a necessity inasmuch as he must present the "materia sufficiens absolutionis". Of course the penitent can put himself in the state of perfect contrition. If he be *certain* of this state of perfect contrition, there is no need of further absolution. But considering that absolution secures the certainty of a proper disposition it would be close on temerity in a dying penitent to obtain it for himself.

AUG. LEHMKUHL, S.J.

Valkenburg, Holland.

ADVERTISING THE TIME OF SUNDAY MASSES.

A correspondent sends us the following letter which he has received from one of his parishioners. We are glad to publish it as calling attention to a very practical and important matter. Although of recent years more and more notices have appeared on the bulletin boards of summer resorts and hotels announcing the hour for Mass for vacationists and travelers, there is much still to be done in this direction. It is a subject that deserves the consideration of every pastor.

Dear Father:

I have just received a copy of [the monthly parish bulletin] which I find interesting as usual.

The opening article interests me on the other (the layman's) side of the subject. My experience has been that at times it requires a very zealous Catholic to attend Mass on Sunday. I am not excusing the indifferent one who does not. But it is not always easy or con-

venient for even a Catholic who has a desire to hear Mass to get the information.

A little zeal and an effort on the part of the clergy at summer and winter resorts, or even in cities and towns, would help a great deal. In most hotels one can find the Protestant churches advertising their location and time of services. How often is the same information provided by the Catholic churches? There is at all times a large Catholic traveling population—commercial travelers, theatrical people, and pleasure seekers. The last class may not have the same excuse; but the first two are not traveling for pleasure, are busily engaged, and an advertisement placed in hotels and theatres, giving the location and hours of Mass in the parish church, would be a great convenience, and would undoubtedly cause more of them to hear Mass.

To be sure, the obligation rests upon each individual Catholic; but sometimes it rests lightly. I think this is a matter that might well receive the consideration of the clergy.

THE ALUMNAE OF CATHOLIC INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION.

We are in receipt of a letter from the secretary of a preliminary organization meeting which aims at bringing together the Alumnae of Catholic secondary schools in the United States and Canada for concerted action in all questions that affect the moral welfare of our people. The initiative in this movement is taken by the alumnae of St. Joseph's College, Emmitsburg, Maryland, and their efforts have the endorsement of Cardinals Gibbons, Farley, and O'Connell. It is felt that the success of organizing and bringing the matter properly before the various colleges and academies requires the cooperation of the clergy as a body, and it is hoped that priests in all parts of the country will see their way to fostering the work of this federation.

There can hardly be any doubt that our clergy will be in sympathy with any movement tending to strengthen the influence of Catholic womanhood. There is much need of such an organization among our educated women, since there are most important problems to be solved by a definite stand of Catholic womanhood, not only in matters of religious education, marriage, and certain phases of domestic virtue, but likewise

in regard to social customs, dress, amusements, and other features of public life that become in one way or other the vehicle of teaching virtue or vice. What the press can do however in the matter of fostering such organization is limited. Practical action in which the clergy take legitimate part must be backed by the Ordinaries of the various dioceses, to whom it belongs to instruct and animate their priests. Let the representatives of colleges and academies address themselves to their respective bishops in a way to secure their coöperation. The matter cannot be very difficult, since those on whom rests the burden of procuring such approach are well known to the respective diocesan heads.

BAPTISM OF CHILDREN OF SCHISMATIC PARENTS.

Qu. In the REVIEW for March, 1914, a question was asked and replied to regarding the baptism of vagrant children. In the response the following passage occurs: "Hence the clause 'si fundata spes adsit de prole in vera religione educanda' as found in the diocesan statutes must be interpreted as indicating cases in which the priest should baptize, but not as excluding cases in which he *may* baptize. The administration of baptism is justifiable, if not advisable, whenever the parents wish it, or even when they do not object to it."

Frequently schismatic parents bring their children to me for baptism because they have no priest of their own in this locality. Am I allowed to baptize them? The above response would make baptisms justifiable. Yet Tanquerey, Genicot, and several other moralists condemn the practice, and seem to be endorsed by the Holy Office.

J. R. O'G.

Resp. The sentence: "The administration of baptism is justifiable, if not advisable, whenever the parents wish it, or even when they do not object to it" may be misunderstood. The reason why certain parents may wish or may not object to Catholic baptism may be various; therefore the Church expresses in her legislation her mind more clearly by adding, "as often as there is hope of a Catholic education," or "when there is a reasonable hope of the children being brought up by Catholics away from home," or "as long as in each case no serious danger of perversion is foreseen". In the answer to

the question regarding the baptism of vagrant children not all possible cases of such a baptism were included. Baptism is a gift and grace which works *ex opere operato,* independently of the faith of parents or of sponsors; but this is not to say that it is a grace that may be exposed to danger.

The answer does not and cannot make the baptism of children of schismatic parents justifiable, even though the children are brought by their parents to the Catholic priest. The reason is obvious. There is in all such cases a special and even unusual danger of perversion. These children are brought up, not as Roman Catholics, but as schismatics. In case one of the parents is a Roman Catholic, baptism is to be administered even against the will of the schismatic parent, whether the schismatic party before marriage promised to have all the children brought up in the Catholic faith or not. Even if in individual cases the danger of apostasy of these children be foreseen with more than probability, they should nevertheless be baptized, if one parent is a Catholic and the danger of apostasy is not general.[1]

In all other cases the schismatic parents do not acknowledge any obligation and do not promise to bring up their children in the Catholic faith; they do not grant even the least that must be demanded of them, namely, their non-interference in the bringing up of their children in the Catholic faith. The following case was put before the Congregation of the Holy Office, 20 August, 1885: "A Protestant father and mother, in a place where a minister of their own sect could not be procured, came to the Catholic priest to have their child baptized, stipulating, however, that they did not thereby intend to assume any obligation of bringing up their child in the Catholic faith. Can a priest in such a case baptize the child?" The answer was: "No; unless the child is in danger of death." There is an earlier answer of the Congregation of the Holy Office (1867), whereby it is left to the prudent judgment and conscience of missionaries—who however, if possible, should previously consult the Prefect Apostolic—to baptize children brought to them by unbaptized parents, "dummodo in singulis casibus non praevideatur ullum adesse grave perversionis

[1] Cong. H. Office, 12 October, 1600.

periculum". Such a grave danger is the rule with children of schismatic parents. Implicitly they refuse to accept the obligation of having the child brought up in the Catholic faith, so that there is no alternative (since the child is not as yet *sui juris* to express a desire to be baptized), and hence the whole responsibility rests with the parents. Even if the sponsors in such cases were practical Catholics, it would not make any essential difference. They assume responsibility only in so far as they are free to carry out their obligations with the consent of the parents, and this freedom we cannot presuppose in case the parents do not recognize any positive obligation to do so in accordance with the child's profession of faith, implicitly made for it in baptism by its Catholic sponsors.

If a priest of their own faith cannot be procured, they may be instructed that in danger of death any one can validly and lawfully baptize. In case of sincere conversion from the schismatic to the Catholic faith the danger of perversion ceases and the "fundata spes catholicae educationis" cannot be doubted.

ST. PAUL AND THE PAROUSIA.

I. By Father Lattey.

To the Editor, THE ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW.

I understand that this is to be my final contribution to this discussion, and indeed I do not feel that I have anything particularly new to say, but it may help to present the issue clearly to the reader if I briefly sum up my case.

1. Father Drum renews his attack on my original note in *Thessalonians,* and complains that "no answer has been given". But in the March number of the REVIEW I wrote (p. 354): "I regret that in my note in *Thessalonians* I did not point to the presence of the definite article, though I had it in my mind when I wrote." It was sufficiently obvious that I meant to make my own Dr. Moulton's more accurate statement.

2. In answer to Father Drum's parallel from Hebrews 12:25, I have quoted the note on this latter passage from Dr. Westcott's classical edition. And Dr. Westcott is "a Protestant parson"! Well, I imagine Dr. Westcott would have felt insulted had he been called either a Protestant or a par-

son; courtesy to the dead would require that he be called an Anglican bishop. But let that pass. Philology is one of the subjects in which we can least afford to neglect non-Catholic work. Unfortunately Catholic studies have fallen somewhat behind in this respect, as they know to their cost at the Biblical Institute. Still, if only the Holy Father's regulations for the seminaries meet with loyal obedience, as doubtless they will, and if his lead be followed generally, the deficiency will be made good. Meanwhile Father Drum himself appeals in the *Catholic Encyclopedia* to Dr. Moulton, a Dissenting minister, and to Blass—I have no idea what Blass believes. And I feel sure that he will make copious use of the new papyrological (*sit venia verbo*) lexicon which Dr. Moulton and Professor Milligan are preparing.

3. But Dr. Westcott's exegesis takes Father Drum "completely off his feet"! That is due to his own lightning exegesis. Surely he must have felt some misgiving in attributing even to "a Protestant parson", to say nothing of myself, the view that St. Paul was a "self-accused apostate from Christianity"! I took it for granted—if I should have been more explicit I apologize, but so it was—that he would realize that Dr. Westcott was attributing to St. Paul a common rhetorical device, free from any suspicion of error, such as one is liable to hear in any Sunday sermon—the device of supposing committed, or about to be committed, a fault against which the writer or preacher wishes to guard. I may notice in passing that though παραιτήσησθε and ἀποστρεφόμενοι in Hebrews 12:25 no doubt include apostasy, they appear to cover also far lesser degrees of infidelity; otherwise there would be little point in the exhortation. St. Paul is also inculcating fear and reverence, etc. (Heb. 12:28). Since, as I infer from his treatment of I Thess. 4:15-17, Father Drum will not attempt to interpret the relative in the Vulgate conditionally, it appears to me that he must allow that the above exegesis is at least the only reasonable one for the Vulgate *nos, qui de coelis loquentem nobis avertimus.*

4. Father Drum complains that I have torn some words of his from their context, as if he were admitting error in St. Paul. But this again is his over-hasty exegesis, which we have already seen at work in the case of Father Prat and Father

Pesch and Dr. Westcott, and will shortly see in the case of Father Knabenbauer—may it not be of St. Paul also? It appears to me sufficiently clear that I was arguing that on Father Drum's principles we should have to say that there was formal error in I Cor. 1: 14-16, and that it needed the principles which I am following to save St. Paul from that imputation. To that argument Father Drum has not replied.

5. Father Drum complains that I have not answered the question, "if the uninspired and erring St. Paul intends an erroneous meaning in I Thess. 4: 15-17, what does the inspired and infallible St. Paul here intend to say?" But this is evidently an unfair and misleading question, which I am sure Father Drum does not intend seriously, as though I had said that any part of what St. Paul wrote were uninspired. I do not admit either that St. Paul is uninspired or that he is guilty of formal error. My view is that the truth which St. Paul here means to propound is that the just who are alive at the last day will not die, etc.; but that St. Paul in propounding this truth makes it clear that he himself and the Thessalonians will live to see the last day—that in this there is no formal error, since it is abundantly clear both from the context here and from other passages that St. Paul had no fixed conviction in his mind, and that he was not proposing this detail as a certain truth. I have been insisting on this explanation all along, but Father Drum has not even discussed it—for I do not call it discussing it to continue asserting in general terms that St. Paul cannot err.

6. Father Drum is disconcerted to find that even now I am not quite clear as to whether he intends his "conditional" theory seriously. This uncertainty of mind is due to the fact that even now he couples with it the "indefinite" theory, which is not really compatible with it.

7. It is this "indefinite" theory, I gather, which he means to call the "usual Catholic" view. As a matter of fact there is no sign that, at the time when Fr. Drum wrote the article "Thessalonians" in the *Catholic Encyclopedia,* he had noted, or, as I should prefer to say, excogitated it. He refers to Father Knabenbauer on the passage, but, once again, he has not taken sufficient care to make out the real meaning of the writer he is interpreting. Father Knabenbauer (in *Thess.,* p.

92) explains the use of the first person by supposing that the Thessalonians themselves had used it in an epistle of their own, and that St. Paul is making an "implicit quotation", without committing himself to the obvious implication. I cannot say that I think this explanation probable, if only because it fails to take account of the parallel passage in I Cor. 15:51-52. But it certainly is not Father Drum's explanation. Father Drum also refers to an article by Bishop MacDonald in the REVIEW for June. I regret to say that at the present moment the June number of the REVIEW is not accessible to me, and I must send this note off at once to catch the mail in compliance with the Editor's request.

8. On the contrary, let me point out once more that I am merely following what appears to me the best exegesis current in the Church, and that, as Father Drum himself later made clear, I am by no means in a minority of one in the Church on this question, as one might have inferred from his review of *Thessalonians* in *America*. In particular Father Prat and Father Pesch are clearly on my side. Father Prat's great work, *La Théologie de St. Paul,* marks a new era in the Catholic interpretation of St. Paul, and I do not think there is anyone whose authority on this subject is equal to his. I was simply following him. Father Drum has contested this, but it is clear as daylight, if only from my actual quotation in *Thessalonians,* and I gather from Father Drum's silence on the point that he is not prepared to maintain his objection. Again, no work on inspiration has yet appeared in the Church which can be compared with the careful and exhaustive work of Father Pesch. Father Drum now says, "as to the meaning of Father Pesch, I let that go, too". Yet he summarizes Father Pesch's meaning in words that at least disguise the fact that Father Pesch is most explicitly laying it down that my view is perfectly tenable.

9. And, lastly, St. Paul himself! I wrote in *Thessalonians,* and have repeated since, that a solution must be found "by examining what St. Paul really means, both in this and the other relevant passages." Both in *Thessalonians* and in the REVIEW I have insisted on the importance of the parallel in I Cor. 15:51-52. Yet on the subject of this parallel Father Drum has not uttered a word! My own fuller exegesis of the

passage may now be seen in the new fascicle of the Westminster Version containing that Epistle.

It only remains to thank the Editor of THE ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW for having afforded me this opportunity for a fuller exposition and defence of my view than could ever appear in the actual edition of the Epistles in question. I offer it with confidence to the readers of the REVIEW, as at once the necessary outcome of the evidence, and as a safeguard of that faith which we hold in common as our priceless heritage.

CUTHBERT LATTEY, S.J.

St. Beuno's College, St. Asaph, N. Wales.

II. BY FATHER DRUM.

To the Editor, THE ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW.

The above contribution has not "anything particularly new to say", apart from the new personalities it indulges in; so my "lightning exegesis" will be brief and in the order of Fr. Lattey's paragraphs.

1. Yes, I complain that "no answer has been given" my reply to Fr. Lattey's attack in his *Thessalonians*. He wrote: "If the subject of the participle were *indefinite and in the third person*, it might be taken conditionally," not otherwise. I cited seventeen examples to show he was wrong. He merely shifted the discussion from the use of the *indefinite* participle *in the third person* to that of the *articular* participle. That was no answer.

2. Father Lattey here puts me in a false light. I do not object to the authority of a "Protestant parson" in the matter of *philology*. I objected to Fr. Lattey's relying upon the *sole authority* of Westcott in a matter *not of philology* but of *theology*. I wrote: "With all due respect to the good and learned Protestant bishop, his views in matters that affect the *Catholic dogma* of inspiration are most emphatically not enough for us priests who are in close touch with the depository of apostolic tradition." My appeals to Moulton and Blass are in matters of *philology;* and are no contradiction to my objection to Father Lattey's appeal to a Protestant in a matter of *theology*.

As to Fr. Lattey's susceptibility in regard to the phrase

" Protestant parson ", it is a new phase of the *branch theory!* Why should we priests, *between ourselves,* acknowledge that, in the matter of apostolic succession and of the tradition of Catholic dogma, the "Anglican bishop" should not be grouped *in eadem massa damnationis* with the " Protestant parson "?

3. Fr. Lattey now garbles my words. It was not Westcott took me off my feet. I wrote: " Fr. Lattey takes me completely off my feet by interpreting Hebr. 12 : 25 *with a Protestant parson,* so as to make St. Paul to include himself among those who were, at the time of writing, apostates from Christ." Westcott has no allusion to Fr. Lattey's " common rhetorical device " and clearly makes St. Paul to include himself among the apostates. " He looks upon the action as already going on, and does not shrink from *including himself among those who share in it:* ' We who are turning away,' if indeed we persevere in the spirit of unfaithfulness." In my " lightning exegesis" of Hebr. 12 : 25, which refers the *turning away* to apostasy, I cite the Catholics Rambaud, MacEvilly, Ceulmans, Maunoury, Peronne, and Drach. Fr. Lattey, in his careful exegesis, cites none. As to the Vulgate " nos, qui de coelis loquentem nobis avertimus," the *nos* is indefinite—a construction parallel to " nos qui vivimus " of Thes. 4 : 15-17.

4. Yes, I complain that Fr. Lattey tears my words from their context. I had quoted him—" St. Paul is in error where he is writing with *certainty and conviction,* no; where he makes it clear there is *no fixed conviction* in his mind,—possibly, and in this case yes." To these words I added: " The fact of the matter is, then, that St. Paul here errs." [1] In the context, I clearly meant that, in Fr. Lattey's opinion, not in mine, St. Paul was in error. Fr. Lattey tears these words from their context and fails to play the game fairly, when he writes: " Unless we accept the obvious doctrine that it is enough that St. Paul makes it clear that there is no fixed conviction in his mind, must we not say with Fr. Drum, ' the fact of the matter is, then, that St. Paul here errs ' "? [2] The insinuation is that I do not hold " the obvious doctrine "; and that I say St. Paul, in I Cor. 1 : 14-16, errs. Whereas I do hold that

[1] Eccl. Review, May, 1914, p. 616.
[2] Eccl. Review, July, 1914, p. 89.

in I Cor. 1 : 14-16, " St. Paul makes it clear to us there is no fixed conviction in his mind "—a thing he does not at all make clear in I Thes. 4 : 15-17—and I disallow any error of the inspired St. Paul either in this or in any other of his writings. When Fr. Lattey writes, " To that argument Fr. Drum has not replied," he forgets my answer in the REVIEW for May, p. 618. Here I expressly show that in I Cor. 1 : 14-16 there is no formal error.

The inspired meaning is clear—that St. Paul has no conviction in his mind as to whether he baptized others of Corinth besides Crispus, Caius, and the household of Stephanus. " I know not whether I baptized any other." The Holy Spirit clearly guarantees this inspired thought of St. Paul's ignorance and lack of memory in this matter. The case of " nos qui vivimus " is altogether different. St. Paul does not say " *I know not* if we shall be alive on the last day ", but " nos qui vivimus ". And no amount of progressive assertion by Fr. Lattey can make St. Paul to say anything else.

5. It is not " unfair and misleading " to ask Fr. Lattey what the inspired St. Paul means by the words, " Then, we, who are alive, who are left, shall be caught up together with them in the clouds to meet Christ, into the air " (I Thes. 4 : 16). I intend the question seriously. If the words *Then we, who are alive, who are left* be neither indefinite nor conditional, then they have a complete and definite inspired meaning. This is the teaching of Leo XIII in *Providentissimus Deus*. " The Holy Spirit, by His supernatural power, so aroused and moved them [the sacred writers] to write, so aided them while writing, that they correctly conceived in mind and faithfully willed to write down and aptly expressed with infallible truth *all those things and only those things* which He ordained." Since St. Paul wrote *only those things* which God inspired, there is, in Fr. Lattey's view, a God-intended meaning in the words *Then we who are alive*. That inspired meaning cannot, in Fr. Lattey's opinion, be the face value of the words. For the face value, Fr. Lattey says, is that St. Paul will see the last day; and this is an error. What then is the inspired meaning? Fr. Lattey thinks it is that St. Paul here tells us that he has no fixed conviction about his seeing the end. This interpretation

is arbitrary and has not yet been proved. Progressive assertion is no proof.

Fr. Lattey writes: "I do not admit either that St. Paul is uninspired or that he is guilty of formal error." I reply that, in the words I have quoted under No. 4, Fr. Lattey has hitherto insisted on error in I Thes. 4: 16: "St. Paul is in error . . . where he makes it clear there is no fixed conviction in his mind —possibly, and *in this case yes.*" And surely Fr. Lattey did not mean St. Paul was inspired when in error. Why does Fr. Lattey now back-water?

So "Fr. Drum has not even discussed" Fr. Lattey's interpretation of I Thes. 4: 16. This slur is part and parcel with such phrases as "lightning exegesis", "over-hasty exegesis", etc.

As Fr. Lattey has never proved this incompatibility save by his method of progressive assertion, I shall only insist that, from the standpoint of both inspiration and grammar, the "indefinite" theory is quite compatible with the conditional.

7. The omission of the "indefinite" theory from the article "Thessalonians" in the *Catholic Encyclopedia* was due to the fact that a limited number of words were allotted the writer; and he had to confine his interpretation of the original text of I Thes. 4: 15-17 to what he deemed the more probable theory.

It would stretch this rejoinder beyond the proper bounds, were I to go over the ground I have previously covered to show that the "indefinite" theory is the "usual Catholic" view. But the challenge in regard to my understanding of Fr. Knabenbauer is couched in such language that self-respect obliges me to take up the issue. "Once again he has not taken sufficient care to make out the real meaning of the writer he is interpreting." Careful exegesis should have caused Fr. Lattey to have cited the words of Knabenbauer and so to have proved my exegesis "over-hasty" and "lightning". The entire paragraph referred to by Fr. Lattey is an effort to reject the theory he proposes. It begins: "Ex verbis 'nos qui vivimus, qui relinquimur, etc.,' concludere ipsum Paulum opinatum esse, Christum probabiliter aut fortasse apostolo superstite necdum mortuo venturum esse, non licet." That Fr. Knabenbauer holds St. Paul did not include himself among

the "nos qui vivimus", and consequently interpreted the *nos* as indefinite is so clear that I am astonished Fr. Lattey takes me to task for an over-hasty interpretation of the late scholar's words. Here they are: "Verba 'nos qui vivimus, qui relinquimur' non ipsum Paulum spectant sed universim homines, probabiliter sunt repetitio ipsius dictionis qua Thessalonicenses usi erant: quapropter etiam 5 : 10 'sive vigilabimus, sive dormiemus' itidem generaliter est intelligendum; de Pauli pro se ipso exspectatione haec dictio nihil innuit".

Fr. Lattey refers to only one thought in this sentence—the probable opinion of Knabenbauer that St. Paul explicitly cites the Thessalonians in "nos qui vivimus"; and neglects the rest in his careful exegesis. But the rest of the sentence is favorable to my "over-hasty exegesis". The word *nos,* italicized by Knabenbauer, refers not to Paul, but indefinitely to men in general; the first person is here as indefinite as in 5 : 10. And so it turns out that Fr. Lattey has been over-hasty, and not I.

8. I have never meant to infer that Fr. Lattey was "in a minority of one on this question"; my contribution to the REVIEW for December, 1913, listed the Catholic scholars who deemed St. Paul in error while writing about the Parousia. Fr. Prat is not clearly with Fr. Lattey. Fr. Pesch, as I have shown,[3] is not treating the same thing as he. It is simply preposterous that Fr. Lattey on such doubtful witness should claim his as the Catholic exegesis.

9. I do not remember that Fr. Lattey insisted on the importance of the parallel between I Thes. 4 : 15-17 and I Cor. 15 : 51-52. It is of no importance in our discussion and contains no evidence in favor of an error in St. Paul's eschatology. The Greek reading "we shall all be changed" may have the indefinite *we* as opposed to *the dead* at the last day; or maybe the definite *we*. For whether *we* be of *the living* or of *the dead* on that day *we shall all be changed.* I see no reason to consider this text a *crux* such as is I Thes. 4 : 15-17.

WALTER DRUM, S.J.

Woodstock College, Maryland.

[3] ECCL. REVIEW, May, 1914.

THE "GRAND'MERE" OF ST. FRANCIS DE SALES.

To the Editor, THE ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW.

I should be grateful to any of your readers who would throw light on a curious argument and phraseology in the French edition of the *Introduction à la Vie Devote* of St. Francis de Sales. Chapter XVI of the Second Part is entitled: "Qu'il faut honorer et invoquer les Saints", and reads (second paragraph): "Honorez, révérez et respectez d'un amour spécial la sacrée et glorieuse Vierge Marie: elle est mère de notre souverain Père, et par conséquent notre grand'mère. Recourons donc à elle . . . reclamons cette douce Mère" (etc.)

The argument is that we should honor Our Lady because "she is the mother of our sovereign Father, and is therefore our grandmother". I observe, first, that it is quite strange to style our Saviour "our sovereign Father"—an appellation restricted to the First Person of the Blessed Trinity. And the argument seems to call Our Lady the mother of the "Father" (the First Person of the Blessed Trinity), and therefore the "grandmother" of all mankind. I have thought that perhaps "grand'mère" does not really mean "grandmother", but might be merely a colloquial term of affection. But on consulting Spiers and Surenne's Dictionary, I find "grand'mère" rendered simply "grandmother". Is the argument, or the word, simply a piece of pious playfulness on the part of St. Francis? If so, what is the basis—affectionate or other—of the playfulness of the argument or phrase?

In an English translation[1] the passage is rendered: "Honor, reverence, love, and respect in a special manner the sacred and glorious Virgin Mary, she being the mother of our sovereign Lord, and consequently our mother. Let us run then to her . . . let us call upon this sweet mother' (etc.).

Is the original a misprint in my French edition? Why does the English version translate "Père" by "Lord", and "grand'mère" by "mother"?

INQUIRER.

Resp. We are at a loss to explain the use of the term *grand'mère* in the passage cited by "Inquirer", and should be glad to have from any of our readers any comment that would throw light upon the difficult passage.

[1] *Philothea, or an Introduction to a Devout Life.* Dublin, 1837, p. 90.

CAN STUDENTS DISMISSED FROM COLLEGE ENTER A RELIGIOUS COMMUNITY?

The S. Congregation for Religious decreed, 7 September, 1909,[1] that under no circumstances shall the following be received into an Order or a Congregation of men, under penalty of nullity of profession, without papal permission:

1. Those who have been expelled from a college (whether ecclesiastical or secular) on account of immoral conduct or other crime.

2. Those who have been dismissed from seminaries and ecclesiastical or religious colleges for any reason.

3. Those who have been dismissed from an Order or a Congregation either as professed members or as novices, and those who have obtained a dispensation from religious vows.

4. Those who, after being admitted either as novices or as professed in one province of an Order or a Congregation, have been dismissed, cannot even be received again into the same Order, whether in the same province or another.

The same S. Congregation, 4 January, 1910,[2] passed similar rules, *under pain of nullity of profession,* for Orders and Congregations of women. The first two points slightly differ from the above rules, while the last two are exactly the same. Here is the reading of the first two paragraphs:

1. A girl who has been expelled from college (academy), whether ecclesiastical or secular, by her own fault and for a grave cause.

2. Those who have been dismissed for any reason from the domestic schools of religious where girls are educated with the view of their joining the Order later on.

It will be observed that the stress is on the words *expelled, dismissed.* Consequently if a student leaves of his own accord, though it be quite sure that he would have been dismissed in the course of time, he is still free to join the religious life, for the words of the decree must be taken in their literal sense.

The Church insists absolutely on the observance of this law, and not even the Apostolic Delegate has faculty to dispense

[1] *Acta Apostolicae Sedis,* Vol. I, p. 700.
[2] *Acta Apostl. Sedis,* Vol. II, p. 63.

from these laws, as was learned recently by applying to him for a dispensation. It may also be remarked that in cases where it is doubtful whether the dismissal was just, the Superior of the Order will have no right to decide the case, but will have to submit the matter to the S. Congregation for Religious.

A QUESTION REGARDING FORTY HOURS' DEVOTION.

Qu. Would you please decide a dispute which took place here some time ago among some priests during the Forty Hours' devotion?

In the *Manual of the Forty Hours' Adoration*, published by the AMERICAN ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW (The Dolphin Press), No. 13 states: "At Masses during the Exposition the bell is not rung at the *Sanctus*, Elevation, and Communion."

In the little book *Venite Adoremus*, or Manual of the Forty Hours' Adoration (compiled from approved authors by the Rev. S. I. Orf, D.D.; third edition; published by B. Herder, St. Louis), it is stated in No. 16: "In Missis privatis, quae durante expositione celebrantur, non pulsetur campanula ad elevationem, sed tantum in ingressu celebrantis e sacristia detur tenue signum cum solita campanula." Now some contend that all the Masses are meant by the ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW, high Masses also, including the High Mass of Exposition, and even at this Mass the bell should not be rung. Some differ.

Will you please decide this matter in your next edition?

Resp. In the fourth volume of the Decrees of the Sacred Congregation of Rites[1] this question is discussed at great length. The Instruction, as it is correctly quoted in the *Manual* referred to by our correspondent, says explicitly in the original "Nelle messe private". Some argue that the same reasons hold in the case of a High Mass, even of the Mass of Exposition. Others hold to the letter of the Instruction. There is room for fair argument.

ASSOCIATION WITH THE EXCOMMUNICATED.

Qu. Are strikers of clerics considered *excommunicati vitandi* in this country? How about the faithful associating with the *excommunicati vitandi* or *tolerati*, and these with the faithful? What is permitted and forbidden each?

[1] *Decreta Authentica*, IV, 52 ff.

Resp. Notorious strikers of clerics are considered *excommunicati vitandi,* provided their crime be juridically established. Mere notoriety of fact does not cause them to be *excommunicati vitandi.*[1] The faithful may associate with the *excommunicati tolerati* and these with the faithful, in civil affairs, the law to the contrary having fallen into desuetude. In the case of the *vitandi,* according to the strict letter of the law, association with them would be allowed only in cases of necessity or notable utility. However, some modern theologians, such as Lehmkuhl and Noldin, hold that the law forbidding communication in civil affairs with the *vitandi* has practically fallen into desuetude.[2]

KEEPING THE OIL STOCKS IN ONE'S ROOM.

Qu. According to the April number (XLVIII, p. 459), 1913, the REVIEW seems to say that the custom which, I believe, is in vogue (at least in some sections), does not justify a priest in keeping his oil stocks in his room. What binding force does the decree of the S. R. C. intend in this regard? Does it mean that *sub gravi* or *sub veniali* priests are not allowed to keep their oil stocks in their rooms? Or does it refer only to the larger oil stocks of the church and not to the oil stocks—three joined in one—which each priest has for his own individual use? Cannot a priest keep all his sick-call requisites—oils, candles, stole, and holy water in his room? We are supposed to treat these reverently, I know, but we have our stoles, burse, linens, even though already used, and other blessed articles in our room. Would it not be permitted to keep the oil stocks also?

Also as to a *decenter* place in which the water from the sacred linens runs, would a clean sink in the sacristy be considered *decenter,* although it empties into a sewer? Could this be considered a *sacrarium?* As the sink is clean, the linens can be washed directly in it.

Resp. The answer in the REVIEW for April, 1913 (Vol. XLVIII, p. 460), to which reference is made here, emphasizes (1) the reverence due to the holy oils, and (2) the fact that, if an exception is allowed to the ruling of the Sacred

[1] See Noldin, *Theol. Mor.,* N. 36.

[2] See Noldin, N. 46; Lehmkuhl, "De Excomm.", § 2, n. IX.

Congregation in the matter, the exception is made, not in view of the convenience of the priest, but in view of the convenience of the people. These principles ought to enable the inquirer to solve each concrete case. Of course, it is a question of the smaller oil stocks. The point raised in the last paragraph may be decided according to the tradition or custom in the locality.

DELEGATION IN MATRIMONIAL CASES.

Qu. I respectfully submit the following case for your early consideration.

John, a non-Catholic, and Mary, a Catholic, present themselves to the latter's pastor with the intention of getting married and request the favor of having Father Alexander, a professor at a college in a neighboring town, officiate at the marriage. Accordingly Mary's pastor writes Father Alexander giving him permission to officiate at the marriage and stating to him that all faculties had been obtained.

Father Alexander performs the marriage in his own study at the college where he lives and labors, the ceremony being performed in the presence of two witnesses.

Later Father Alexander doubts the validity of the marriage when he learns that no permission had been obtained from the local pastor, i. e. of the place where the marriage was performed.

However, Fr. Alexander reads the following from the Synodal Decrees for his diocese: "Ad dubia circa matrimonii validitatem praecavenda presertim cum ab alio sacerdote quam a parocho unius contrahentium matrimonio assistitur, decernimus omnes sacerdotes facultatibus Dioecesis gaudentes matrimonio valide adsistere posse *intra limites territorii cui assignantur.* Ad licitum autem hujus facultatis exercitium propria venia requiritur." The words *intra limites territorii cui assignantur* seem to add to the perplexity. He does not know whether the word is used in the sense of "parishes" or "locality." Again he wonders if the college may be called territory in the more limited sense. The priests there baptize, and administer Extreme Unction and seem to have the same jurisdiction as the pastors and assistants in a parish.

If the REVIEW will kindly solve this case, stating first its judgment regarding the validity of the marriage performed by Fr. Alexander, and secondly its recommendation as to what should be done to remedy the mistake in case the marriage was invalid, I shall be grateful indeed.

Resp. As the validity of the marriage performed by Father Alexander depends on whether he had the delegation of the bishop in virtue of the Synodal decree, the whole question is reducible to that of the meaning of the decree. For the interpretation of the decree it is to be noted that: (1) the intention of the decree was to prevent doubts regarding the validity of marriage owing to defect of proper delegation; (2) in the decree delegation is not restricted to assistants engaged in parish duty, but is extended to all having diocesan faculties; (3) the one limitation placed is that the delegated power be exercised within the limits of the territory within which one is assigned to ministerial duty. As Father Alexander has diocesan faculties, and as he performed the marriage ceremony within the limits of the territory within which he is assigned to ministerial duty, the decree as it stands can reasonably be interpreted to cover the case, and would render the marriage valid. However, as the bishop is the framer of the decree and the authentic interpreter of it, and, as recourse, we presume, can easily be had to him, his interpretation should be sought, *ad cautelam.*

HOLY COMMUNION ON HOLY THURSDAY.

Qu. Can a priest administer Holy Communion to working people on Holy Thursday before the hour for Mass? In a discussion I maintained such could be done, because no rubric forbade, and no mention is made of permission.

Resp. Our correspondent is right: there is no rubric forbidding the administration of Holy Communion to working people before the hour of Mass on Holy Thursday. The general practice, of course, is to administer Holy Communion during Mass or immediately before or immediately after Mass, the presumption being that the communicants attend Mass. There is, however, a special appropriateness in the reception of Holy Communion on Holy Thursday, and, so long as there is no positive prohibition on the subject, one does not see why working people should be deprived of the privilege. The recent response (28 April, 1914) of the Sacred Congregation of Rites in regard to the administration of Holy Communion on Holy Saturday, sanctioning the distribution of Holy Com-

munion *during* and *after* Mass, has no relevancy to the present question.[1]

WORKS IN ENGLISH ON THE INDEX.

Qu. Which works by Hall Caine, author of *Eternal City*, are on the Index? Is the work referred to prohibited?

What other authors, with works in English, are on the Index, or which of their works?

Resp. Neither the *Eternal City* nor any other work by Hall Caine is expressly mentioned in the latest edition of the *Index*. As the list of "Authors with works in English" would take too much space, we refer our correspondent to the latest edition (third, 1900, reprinted 1904 and 1907) of the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*, where a complete alphabetical list of authors and their works will be found.

CENSURES NOT INCURRED IN CASE OF DOUBT.

Qu. Does one incur censure if at time he did an act he only feared or doubted of the existence of a censure to such an act? As long as a person doubts whether he has incurred a censure, or also, whether he is incurring a censure in performing a certain act, may he not consider himself free without more ado about the matter, or would he, as in case of *Epikeia*, have to consult the superior or confessor, to make sure? Does not the doubt itself free him from censure? In the case of *Epikeia*, he has to find out whether the superior intended to include something under his law; but in case of censures, does not the fact that one is not certain either that he has incurred a censure, or is incurring a censure in performing a certain act, free him from the censure, even though a censure was attached to his act? If he has to consult another, must he consult *quam primum*, or can he consult at his own time?

Resp. In cases of doubt censures are not incurred. Censures are punishments. In law, punishments are considered *odiosa*, and are therefore of restrictive interpretation, according to the maxim *odiosa sunt restringenda*. It follows that, in doubt, the censure is simply not incurred.[1]

[1] See *Acta Apost. Sedis*, Vol. VI, p. 197.

[1] See Sabetti, *Theol. Mor.* "De Censuris in Genere," Cap. I, Ques. 2.

HANDLING OF THE SACRED VESSELS BY SACRISTANS.

To the Editor, THE ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW.

Your answer to the query regarding "Sisters as Sacristans" at page 97 of the July number is very good.

There used to be a prohibition to touch the sacred vessels "viris non clericis et *omnibus* mulieribus". The decree is quoted by St. Alphonsus (VI, 382): "Can. 'In Sancta', de consecr., dist. I, ubi dicitur: 'Indignum valde est ut sacra Domini vasa, quaecumque sint . . . ab aliis [quam a Domino famulantibus eique dicatis] tractentur viris.' Pro hujusmodi autem sacratis viris intelliguntur non solum diaconi et subdiaconi sed etiam *acolythi*, ut patet ex Can. 'Non licet', dist. 23." But, he adds, "Insuper *nunc tonsurati* ex consuetudine introducta. . . . Id quoque concessum est laicis regularibus sacristis, ex communicatione privilegiorum." I think, not only the sacristans, but also *all* the nuns may touch the sacred vessels "communicatione privilegiorum"; for as Fr. Gaudé, the learned commentator of the splendid edition of St. Alphonsus's Moral Theology, observes: "Callixtus III concedit hoc privilegium tangendi vasa sacra laicis regularibus *generaliter*, non limitans illud ad aeditum dumtaxat." And it seems that this privilege was formerly (over three centuries back) granted to nuns; and later on (perhaps during the last century) "ex consuetudine" lay sacristans were allowed to touch the sacred vessels.

I recall that this was the opinion of the late Cardinal Gennari, who once discussed this very question in his *Il Monitore Ecclesiastico*. But as I have not the periodical at hand, I cannot quote his words.

FR. OCTAVIUS PRINCIPE, S.J.

Trinidad, Colorado.

CANON SHEEHAN MEMORIAL FUND.

The contributions received during the month for the Canon Sheehan Memorial came mostly from Philadelphia priests, who have also figured largely in the lists already published. Doubtless the clergy of other dioceses will be heard from before the closing of the list.

Previously acknowledged	$942.25
The Right Rev. John B. McGinley, D.D., Bishop of Nueva Caceres, Philippine Islands	5.00
The Right Rev. Mgr. George Bornemann, Reading Pa.	5.00
The Right Rev. Mgr. James P. Sinnott, Philadelphia, Pa.	5.00
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Individual Contributions of $2.00 each	4.00
Cash	1.00

Criticisms and Notes.

AN ELIZABETHAN CARDINAL: WILLIAM ALLEN. By Martin Haile, author of "Life of Reginald Pole," etc., etc. B. Herder, St. Louis, Mo.; Isaac Pitman and Sons, London. 1914. Pp. xix-388.

It is a great ingratitude that the English life of Cardinal Allen, the foremost and most effective opponent of Elizabeth and William Cecil in their cruel campaign against the old religion, should have waited three hundred years after his death to be published. But it is a happy circumstance that the biographer at last should be he who has given us the excellent life of Reginald Pole, Cardinal Allen's predecessor as "Cardinal of England". Whilst, however, the Elizabethan Cardinal has fared so ill at the hands of the historians among his own countrymen, the more advanced stage of historical study in Germany had led to the publication in 1885 of Alphons Bellesheim's *Wilhelm Cardinal Allen.* Up to the appearance of the volume at hand, the German biography was the only life of Cardinal Allen since 1608, when Nicholas Fitzherbert's brief Latin memoir was published. In saying this we are not forgetting, however, the two volumes of sources edited by the Rev. Thomas Francis Knox—*Douay Diaries,* and *Letters and Memorials of Cardinal Allen.*

Cardinal Wolsey was party to the scheme of Divorce by which England was wrested from the unity of Christendom; his successor, Cardinal Pole, had the happiness of restoring that unity, but for a time only; and Cardinal Allen, the latter's successor, saved the faithful remnant from utter ruin. Such in summary was the part played by the three great churchmen of Tudor times. Allen's achievement was the result of his superiority, his large-hearted and exquisite tact, his writings, and, above all, the labors of the priests whom he trained at Douay and Rheims for the mission in the blood-stained field of England under the persecution of the Reformers.

William Allen was well born, of Catholic parents, in the north of England, in 1532, and was sixty-two years old at the time of his death, in Rome. Within a few months of William's birth, the Allens heard the incredible news that their King, Henry VIII, had gone through a marriage ceremony with Anne Boleyne, while his lawful wife, Queen Katharine, still lived. At the age of fifteen, in 1547—the year of Henry VIII's death—young William was entered in Oriel College, Oxford. His academical career was phenomenal for the rapidity of his learning and the integrity of his life, and he was noted for his comeliness and external beauty. When twenty-two years of age he resolved to dedicate himself to the ecclesiastical state,

a purpose he carried out twelve years later in the days of his exile. At the age of twenty-four he was chosen principal of St. Mary's Hall, Oxford, and the same year was made Proctor of the University. When he was twenty-nine, William Allen's valiant campaign against the heretical attacks of Elizabeth had made his departure from Oxford and England inevitable, and he betook himself to Louvain, where he found a large colony of Englishmen, in flight from the oath of supremacy and the new anti-Catholic laws. After a year, illness compelled him to return to England, where he made many conversions and ran constant risk of capture and death. A price was set upon his head by Elizabeth for his Catholic activity, and again he escaped to Belgium, going this time to Malines, where he was ordained.

In 1568 he broached to Dr. Vendeville his plan of founding a college, where, in his own words, "our countrymen scattered abroad in different places might live and study together more profitably than apart." It was also in his plans to make it a seminary for the training of theological students to become missionary priests in England, to fill up the places of the "old priests", as they gradually died out. The college was erected at Douai, as part of its University, due mainly to Dr. Vendeville's efforts. Allen taught the students to learn to hate the heretics with the "perfect hatred" of the Psalmist (Ps. 138: 21-22). To this end he saw that the perfection of their own character would be the most fitting instrument; the training of the heart must accompany, even precede, the training of the intellect.

Meanwhile the fame of Allen's learning and zeal had reached Rome. All the Catholic Bishops in England were now dead, except Archbishop Heath and Bishop Watson, and they were kept under such close supervision that they had to exercise their episcopal functions secretly. Hence in the spring of 1572 Pius V determined to constitute some one with authority to delegate the necessary powers to priests who might be sent from the Seminary to the English mission, and he chose Dr. Allen as the fittest person to exercise that responsible office. At this period the pecuniary needs of his College moved Allen to seek the aid of the Holy See and his petition was generously answered. At the mere report of the papal munificence, Martin writes, swarms of theological students and candidates for Holy Orders were "daily coming, or rather flying, to the college". The College was now flourishing so well that it drew down upon it the active hatred of Elizabeth and her Cabinet, who sought, through the Prince of Orange, to secure its destruction. By intrigue Elizabeth won her point, and the professors and students of the English College of Douai were forced to move to Rheims in Holy Week of 1578. In November of the same year the townspeople of Douai sent

a common letter to Rheims begging the college to return, but the invitation was not accepted. It was soon after the transference of the English College to Rheims that Allen, with the Pope's permission, set Gregory Martin to work on a translation of the Bible. He frankly admitted at the time, in a letter to Dr. Vendeville, that he thought it might have been better that the Scriptures should not be translated into the vernacular. But there were so many corrupt and erroneous versions put forth by the heretics, that it was necessary to have a correct and faithful Catholic text. Martin's translation was revised and corrected, page by page, as it proceeded, by Dr. Bristow and Allen himself, and on the latter fell the arduous burden of collecting funds to defray the expenses of publication. It is interesting to note here that years later he had no little hand in the revision of the Latin Vulgate ordered by the Council of Trent.

Previous to the year 1575 Allen's labors with regard to his country had been entirely spiritual. He had taken no active part in political matters. From now on the case is different, though nothing is more remarkable in his career than the rigid separation between his life as president at Douai or at Rheims—where no breath of political agitation was allowed to disturb the calm and studious atmosphere of prayer and labor—and that of an important actor in affairs of state. Allen now became in a double sense a marked man in the eyes of the English Government—on account of his college, which supplied the men who kept the old faith alive in England, and on account of his political activity. Spies were sent to assassinate him and all manner of plottings were set afoot to undo his work. Illness was added to his other troubles, and as soon as he was able to travel he set out on his fourth journey to Rome, at the urgent summons of the Pope. He was destined never to see his College again, though he had imparted to it a spirit so sound that it was to continue its splendid work while persecution lasted. Not until two hundred years after Allen's death was the institute of his creation disturbed, when it was driven back to its native shores by a wave of persecution in the country of its exile. Of the men ordained at Douai and Rheims during his presidency more than seventy died on the scaffold.

Allen arrived in Rome in 1585 and his first attention was given to the pacification of an unfortunate dissension that had arisen between the Italian superiors and the English students in Rome. But high affairs of State, correspondence with the King of Spain regarding the luckless Armada, with Mary Queen of Scots, and the Catholics of his own country, kept him busy. Meanwhile memorandum after memorandum was laid before the Pope, Sixtus V, urging the elevation of Allen to the purple. He was accordingly created Cardinal in 1587, and it is said that at the Consistory the Pope was

moved to tears in speaking of the virtues and merits of the great churchman. In order to be nearer his fellow Catholics in England he was selected Archbishop of Malines, the metropolitan see of Belgium, in 1590, though he never took possession of the see. The remaining years of his life were clouded by a threefold disappointment—the failure of the Spanish Armada, Philip II's abandonment of the enterprise of Spanish interference in England, and the attitude of English Catholics toward the projected invasion. His death took place in Rome, 16 October, 1594.

Such is the outline of the career of Cardinal William Allen taken from Mr. Haile's splendid volume. The author clothes the skeleton with flesh and blood and breathes into it life so as to show us a learned scholar, a prudent councillor of statesmen, and a profoundly spiritual priest, in the habit as he lived. The cruel days in which his work was set are presented in a very real light, and the happenings of those hard times are tellingly rehearsed in so far as they influenced or felt the influence of Elizabeth's most successful and persistent protagonist. The story is told in the light of contemporary evidence, according to the best standard of modern historical methods. Besides its merit of being well documented, the narrative is most entertainingly presented. The author has done a duty that has too long been neglected, and he is to be congratulated most heartily for doing it with such generous pains. The publishers also deserve our thanks for their beautiful volume, in which there is a helpful use of marginal notes.

THE NEW MAN. A Portrait Study of the Latest Type. By Philip Gibbs. B. Herder, St. Louis; Isaac Pitman & Sons, London. 1914. Pp. 255.

Every age has its New Man. In him is embodied the time-spirit. The *Zeitgeist* gives him his character. If you can grasp the peculiar genius of the times, you will always know the New Man. But in this lies the difficulty. You may be able to *feel* the characteristic traits of your age and you may *feel* the presence of the New Man, and yet recognize no less your inability to define or even describe the one or the other. Would you know the New Man more intimately, and would you see in him the spirit of the age, you will find both in the volume before us.

The New Woman is better known than the New Man, and this because she has for some time back been more in evidence. Recently she has been in the limelight. "Novelists, playwrights, and essayists have been analyzing, dissecting, and criticizing the New Woman. They have searched into her soul with prying eyes, discovering

strange things there. They have plucked out her heart, and held it up bleeding to the public gaze. They have made her the text of philosophical monographs and of scientific treatises," and so on. The New Woman however is not as yet a permanent type. She is still in a formative stage—progressing, some think; reverting to a far-off Amazonian ancestral type, according to others. Anyhow, she is no longer the sweet, gentle creature, nor the motherly matron that her grandmother is said to have been. Now while woman has been evolving from the simple to the more complex, from the more homogeneous to the more heterogeneous, type of being, man has been passing through a parallel process of evolution—or shall we say, devolution? "The New Man is just as far removed in his mental make-up from the father and the grandfather who came before him, as his sister is removed in all her qualities of character from the women of the middle and early Victorian age." But what is most to be noted is that the transforming process of the New Man has been mainly shaped and conditioned by the alteration of woman. As a consequence he has largely changed even those elementary principles which once guided his relations to woman. The kingship of the male has virtually disappeared, and "the new type of man has abandoned 'the strong hand in the velvet glove' attitude toward women, and has consciously or unconsciously admitted their equality. Indeed he is inclined to concede their superiority in quickness of wit, in sense of humor, in passionate purposes, even in courage." His whole outlook upon life has been profoundly modified by his attitude toward woman. "And not only is the new intellectual striving of the age traceable directly to the feminine movement and its reaction upon man," but "a great deal of the new weakness to be observed in all departments of life, in politics, social customs, and home life is due to man's admission of the woman's point of view, or at least to his lack of resistance to it. Many of the virtues of the time and some of its vices are caused by the conquests of the woman's spirit over the mind of man. The New Man, indeed, has been created largely by the New Woman."

The creative work has not been to man's advantage, for "the fibre of his nature has been weakened by the loss of his mastery over woman." He may have been made "less of a barbarian by his contact with the New Woman, but his manhood has been emasculated." Perhaps he has become "less harsh in his judgments, less narrow in his outlook, but his mental perspective has been altered so that he sees through the wrong end of the telescope."

Moreover, "the New Woman has not only liberated herself from the old subjection of her sex, but has actually become the dominant partner in the household; and the New Man acquiesces in the posi-

tion of a subordinate". And lest the American reader should think that the growing ascendancy of woman is characteristic of English society, wherein the feminist movement has assumed such menacing proportions, Mr. Gibbs finds woman's domestic domination to be "more apparent in the United States, where the husbands of society-women serve the sole purpose of toiling hard in order to produce the wealth which is needed by their women for smart frocks, luxurious flats, and all the material comforts and pleasures of life. They are tolerated in their own houses as necessary parts of the social machinery, but they are conscious of their own serfdom, and slink about with an air of dejection and self-effacement. They leave the women to themselves, and do not interfere with their mode of life, and recognize their own vocation as male money-getters for their female drones" (p. 81). This picture of American domesticity does not indeed flatter our vanity, but we can hardly with honesty deny its fidelity.

Surrender to woman of his former supremacy is, however, only one of the forces that have moulded the New Man. Indeed, that surrender is not so much the cause, as it is the result, of forces that have affected the very roots of human nature and perverted the principles of life and action both in man and woman. Mr. Gibbs in the volume before us has not gone very deeply into these causes. To do so did not fall within his scope, which is to portray the features, the character of the New Man, rather than to dig into the roots from which the new type has sprung. Nevertheless in the chapters on the education and on the religion of the New Man are indicated virtually, if not explicitly, the formative agencies in question. It would carry this necessarily brief review beyond just limits were the etiology of the subject to be here attempted. A few lines of the author's portrayal of the New Man's religious attitude must suffice. The New Man is neither Atheist nor Infidel. He is supremely tolerant of all religious beliefs and unbeliefs. He simply does not bother about religion. It does not appeal to him. It is not in his line. He does not feel the need of it. "He is inclined to think that Nature is permeated with the spirit of that force which men call God, because it is when he gets away from the town to the margin of the sea, when the wind blows across the heath, when he lies outstretched upon the turf with the scent of flowers about him, that he has a kind of spiritual sense denied him at other times." Nature makes him feel "good". Hence he is not devoid of a certain spiritual sense. "He is inclined to believe that we are on the threshold of new discoveries with regard to some great force or forces outside ourselves which, if you like, you may call God." He has his moments of spiritual exaltation when he seems to be in con-

tact with another world—moments that linger for a time, and then subside into the normal, though they leave their impress on memory and even on character. "Love seems to him the one essential of religion as it is of life." Indeed, "he is in love with life, with the good things of life, with the beauty and the gaiety and the fun of it. He loves nature, and the animal world, and flowers, and all things that live and grow. He hates pain and cruelty and ugliness"—whether in himself or others. Hence "he abhors war and death. Here and now is his song of life. Let us eat, drink and be merry, for to-morrow we die. Yet the New Man's religion bids him eat decently, drink in moderation, and be merry in a harmless way, without hurt to his neighbor or his own self-respect." Again, "his philosophy of life is bound up with the gradual raising of the masses of brutal people to his own level of culture, so that they may read minor poetry with pleasure, and take an intelligent interest in new schools of art, and enjoy bright music, and live in Garden Cities with nice little plots of ground before their front doors, and put on clean white shirts for dinner, and go to the theatre for mental relaxation and amusement, and avoid the disconcerting passions of their lower selves." Mild forms of socialism appeal to him therefore and he "sympathizes with all political and social endeavors to raise the wages of the laboring classes, to give them better houseroom and to insure them against sickness. Indeed the essential article of the New Man's religion is the right of every human being to have a good time in life, here and now, without looking to another and a mythical world. He starts with the assumption that, given a decent environment, something more than a living wage, and a love of all that is beautiful in the world, happiness is assured."

Such are a few of the traits of the New Man's character. Others the reader will easily divine, but for an adequate account he must apply to the book itself. Here he will find portrayed the new workman, the new aristocracy, the new suburban, the new politician, the new nation—portrayed in the colors of life, vividly, with spirit, and with grace. Writing as he does from England, Mr. Gibbs sees of course the type in an English environment. Nevertheless the New Man is an international, a citizen of the world, and his facsimile will be met everywhere within the pale of civilization. Mr. Gibbs has therefore sketched the New Man as a cosmopolitan. The New Man, though ubiquitous, is, it may be hoped, not as yet "the average man", though he is making rapid strides toward a majority, and it will be only the conservative and supernatural power of Christianity that will withstand him.

MORE JOY. By the Right Rev. Wilhelm von Keppler, Bishop of Rottenburg. Adapted into English by the Rev. Joseph McSorley, C.S.P. B. Herder, St. Louis, Mo. 1914. Pp. 266.

Is the New Man, described in the work above, a happy man? Apriori the answer must be no. Happiness is the state of the soul—a condition primarily spiritual; and the New Man is essentially a hedonist, a pleasure-seeker, an epicurean—not in the gross and therefore false sense of the term, but a temperate, wisely calculating devoté of agreeableness, a shrewd balancer of pleasure and pain, with the aim of securing the greatest all-round share of the one, and the least possible amount of the other. Now by pain is not meant merely physical suffering, disease, discomfort, but also whatever hurts the senses, such as ugliness, squalor, vulgarity, harsh noises, bad smells, shabby clothes, the sight of other people's misfortunes, and anything that hurts the intellect, such as deep thinking, hard study, unpleasant facts, and unpleasant truth. And by pleasure is not meant simply gross physical delights, but all things that come within the word Beauty—beauty of color, of sound, of scent, of taste, and of touch, the delicate thrill of emotion and sentiment, the exquisite sensations of physical and intellectual happiness (p. 124). All this and much more that is instructive concerning the New Man's philosophy of life can best be read in the volume just referred to. Contrast it all with the analysis of "perfect joy" made by the Poverello of Assisi for the enlightenment of Brother Leo, as you find it set down with the charm of medieval simplicity in that quaintest little volume *The Little Flowers of St. Francis* (ch. 8). It is not, however, given to everyone to find "perfect joy" in the things that made jubilee in the Christlike heart of Francis. To be thrust out "in the snow or rain", to be treated as a vile impostor, "beaten with a knotted stick, seized by the cowl and thrown upon the ground"—it is only to those who bear the marks and signs of the Crucified in their immortal souls, or mortal bodies, like him of Tarsus or of Assisi, that it is given to see in these negations of comfort and positions of pain, the factors and conditions of perfect joy.

But would you know what is joy such as your ordinary individual may hope to know it, to have it, to spread it, then read this newest book of *More Joy* before you. Here is joy on every page and it shows you joy in every thing—your right to joy, the joy (or rather unjoy) of the present age, the joy of art, of the folksong, the joy of youth, joy in the Christian life, the joy of the Holy Books, the saints in joy, joy in gratitude, joy and education, art and joy, joy and the care of souls, joy in the love of nature, joy in work. Was there ever such a galaxy of joyful things? But these are only titles,

headings of the principal parts of the volume. Go to the pages themselves to see how charmingly these joyful things smile out upon you from the printed symbols. The whole world of beauty—books of nature and Revelation, the books of the great classics, ancient and modern, the literature of all times, the heroes of holiness and of noble deeds, as these and many other fountains of thought and beauty have given of their best and fairest to sing the praises of joy —tell of joy's reality, its power, its ubiquity. The book is for everybody; young, old, rich, poor, saint, sinner, learned and unlearned—all will find in it what they need—*more joy*. Not least is it for the priest. Let him read the chapter on Joy and the Care of Souls and he will see what joy and this book of joy will do for himself and his ministry. Think not because this volume treats of joy and therefore of emotion that you have here a farrago of sentimentality. The thought is solid, robust, virile, but it is tinged throughout, nay, shot through everywhere, with the light of beauty—the *splendor veri*. It is a book of joy, of rejoicing, and therefore of discipline. There is no joy in the heart of the carnal man. "You ask: How can I raise the level and enlarge the content and insure the continuance of joy in my life? How can I make every day a day of joy? The answer is 'By rejoicing'. This seems to be a cheap sort of advice, but it is full of practical wisdom. We can learn love, we can win love, only in one way, by loving: and joy only by rejoicing. It is far from true that we cannot train, yea, compel our hearts to love. And it is equally untrue that we cannot make the heart learn joy, practise joy, live joy" (p. 244). There is a robust thought here which the author develops in his own virile yet graceful style. Read the book and you will be the happier for so doing, and you will want to spread it among the people, the poor people whom it will show how to find joy in sorrow; the rich people whom it will teach the blessedness of poverty of spirit, and that true joy is not identified with pleasure. No thoughtful reader of this joyful volume of more joy but will find an access of joy in his own bosom from the feeling of gratitude that he will experience toward the author for having written so helpful a book—a feeling which will include the translator who has so happily rendered and adapted the work. It is no slight praise to say that the translation does honor to the original. It is the rarest of experiences to meet with a translation, especially from the German, in which the consciousness of its being a translation is entirely obliterated, as is the case with the present production.

THE LIFE OF FRANCIS THOMPSON. By Everard Meynell. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. 1913. Pp. 361.

Francis Thompson has been dead hardly seven years and already we have his biography. In point of fact this life was published last year and has waited these several months for notice in these pages, because of fortuitous circumstances which need not be gone into in detail, though the belatedness deserves at least this mention. For the importance of the volume, both as the account of one who has aptly been styled "the poet of the Church" and as a unique piece of biography, might well have justified the readers of the REVIEW in looking for an earlier critique. This is all the more true, seeing that nearly nine years before Francis Thompson's death, they had read in the REVIEW his high praises from the pen of another illustrious author, whose work was also done in seclusion and through much suffering. In our June issue of 1898 the late Canon Sheehan had written of Francis Thompson: "For the present he will write no more poetry. Why? I should hardly like to intrude upon the privacy of another's thoughts; but Francis Thompson, who, with all his incongruities, ranks in English poetry with Shelley, and *only* beneath Shakespeare, has hardly had any recognition in Catholic circles. If Francis Thompson had been an Anglican or a Unitarian, his praises would have been sung unto the ends of the earth. He would have been the creator of a new school of poetry. Disciples would have knelt at his feet. But, being only a Catholic, he is allowed to retire, and bury in silence one of the noblest imaginations that have ever been given to Nature's select ones—her poets. Only two Catholics—literary Catholics—have noticed this surprising genius—Coventry Patmore and Wilfrid Meynell. The vast bulk of our co-religionists have not even heard his name, although it is already bruited amongst the Immortals; and *the* great Catholic poet, for whose advent we have been straining our vision, has passed beneath our eyes, sung his immortal songs, and vanished."

In one sense it was easy enough for "*the* great Catholic poet" to vanish—as a personality, namely; for the simple reason that as such he never appeared, save to an exceedingly small circle of friends, first and foremost among them, Mr. Wilfrid Meynell and his wife, the parents of the biographer. These two discerning critics of literary values by their patient kindness and coaching put Francis Thompson on his feet in a double sense; they not only rescued him from destitution and the sordid environments of darkest London, but heartened him to sing his wonderful songs and write his distinguished prose as a journalist. In return the poet has left many a generous acknowledgment of his debt to his benefactors, and this appreciation

is gracefully woven into the warp and woof of their son's story of Francis Thompson's intellectual life. And the Meynells in befriending Thompson made not only the poet but all men their debtors, notwithstanding the disclaimer of Meynell *père:* "But let none be named the benefactor of him who gave to all more than any could give to him."

There runs through the volume a suggestion of filial compulsion upon the author to tell the strange sad story of one whose forty-eight years were practically barren of biographical details. A more obscure life, or more elusive, it would be hard to picture, and who but the young man of Palace Court could have snatched from utter oblivion even the meagre records here set down? There was none but he, with his sympathetic insight into his kin's wise and patient leading of the poet, to trace the steps of Thompson's reclaim from the underworld into which the despondent poet had drifted. That his misery and pains drove him to opium, that for a time he companioned with an alleged murderer, that he had experience enough for a post-graduate course in the University of Last Resort had to be told, because it is all true; and it was well therefore that the telling should be by one who is native to the glamor of London town and who recognizes no less that the abysses of the modern Babylon are unfathomable. Misery and squalor there was a plenty in Thompson's lonely days and roofless nights in London, without blackening them with the charge of the too usual sinful concomitants of such a life. But the accusation was bound to raise its ignoble head, and what other biographer could have destroyed it forever, with dead-sure stroke? Only a comradeship such as later existed between our author and the poet, only the former's close study of the poet's unpublished notes and memoirs as well as his published writings, aided by the family association with the reclaimed exile, could have enabled the author to piece together the disjointed and ill-assorted parts of Thompson's gloomy career.

The biographer presents a long and plausible argument that the very force that dealt Thompson's body its death kept alive his passion for poetry. The "imp of the laudanum bottle," whilst it sowed the seeds of consumption of which he died in a London hospital ward, brought with its delirium a stimulus to his imagination whereby the world became, in his own phrase, his box of toys. By the aid of the drug the thronging highways of the great metropolis gave his genius seclusion, wrapped round, as he was, with the pomp of his dreams; so that, amid his vicissitudes, the tattered minstrel, who would sell matches for his daily bread, run errands, or hold a horse's head on the streets for a pittance, carried dignity for all that, and in the rough haunts of the underworld kept his recitude and gentleness.

The turning point in Francis Thompson's life came twenty years before he died, when he sent an article entitled "Paganism" to *Merry England*, a Catholic monthly, since defunct, that was edited by Mr. Wilfrid Meynell. After dropping the manuscript in the letter box the despondent writer spent his very last cent on "two boxes of matches," he tells us, "and began the struggle for life." In a postscript to the letter offering the article, he wrote: "Kindly address your rejection to Charing Cross Post Office." For six months the momentous article remained unread of the much-occupied and unsuspecting editor, who then, however, sought its author. More than a year after the despatch of the manuscript Mr. Meynell after much eager searching found the poet—a mere waif of a man, who was with difficulty brought to believe that he was fitted for the writing career. Opium was renounced and very soon Thompson confessed: "I protest to you I have a greater influx of thoughts in one hour at present than in a year under the reign of opium. It seems as though all the thoughts that had been frozen up for a decade of years by opium had now, according to the old fable, been thawed at once" (p. 95). Within a twelvemonth, the splendor of Thompson's poetic powers blazed forth in "The Ode of the Setting Sun". About this time, too, he submitted his famous essay on Shelley for publication in the *Dublin Review*, with the result that it was rejected, only to be offered again and accepted by the same periodical twenty years later.

Under the direction of his benefactors he was now learning to work. *Sister Songs* and *The Hound of Heaven* were written about 1891, though the latter was not published until 1895. *New Poems* came in 1897, and met with a very unfavorable reception at the hands of many of the most influential critics, notwithstanding that the poet esteemed it his "highest work". All the same, none better than he realized that the songs of this volume were not sung for the popular ear. On the eve of its publication he wrote of it to a friend: "I have done what artifice could do to lighten a very stern, sober, and difficult volume. . . . From the higher standpoint I have gained, I think, in art and chastity of style; but have greatly lost in fire and glow. 'Tis time that I was silent. This book carries me quite as far as my dwindling strength will allow; and if I wrote further in poetry, I should write down my own fame." For the next five years his chief writings constituted articles and reviews for the *Academy* and the *Athenæum*, his *Life of St. Ignatius*, and only an occasional poem. Four or five years before death came to ease his pains, the overwhelming sense of blighted utility sent him back to the laudanum bottle. "My sole sensuality was not to be in pain," he moans in his remorse over his "fearful slavery". Kind friends

ministered to him, in so far as they were permitted, during these last months, until death came to him peacefully, 13 November, 1907, amid Catholic surroundings and the ministrations of religion. "If he had great misfortunes, he bore them greatly; they were great because everything about him was great." His friends took consolation in the belief that he knew and accepted his fate and mission, and that he willingly "learned in suffering what he taught in song." According to Patmore, he was "of all men I have known most naturally a Catholic. My Catholicism was acquired, his inherent." What profiteth a man, he asked in effect, if he gain the whole sun but lose the true Orient—Christ? So much for his faith. As for his poetry, he has recorded in prophetic verse his won satisfaction of the immortality of that:

> The sleep-flower sways in the wheat its head,
> Heavy with dreams, as that with bread;
> The goodly grain and the sun-flushed sleeper
> The reaper reaps, and Time the reaper.
>
> I hang 'mid men my needless head,
> And my fruit is dreams, as theirs is bread;
> The goodly men and the sun-hazed sleeper
> Time shall reap, but after the reaper
> The world shall glean of me, me the sleeper!

It remains to add that we owe to the chivalry of Francis Thompson's biographer a capital volume, whereby we are enabled to reconcile not a few contradictions in the life of one whose name, by a triumph of failure, is becoming more and more known and whose work seems destined to endure.

THE LIFE OF GEMMA GALGANI. By Father Germanus, C.P. Translated by the Rev. A. M. O'Sullivan, O.S.B. Introduction by Cardinal Gasquet, O.S.B. B. Herder, St. Louis; Sands & Co., London. 1914. Pp. 482.

Heroic virtue, sublime sanctity, has always been one of the marks attesting the divinity of the Church. Occasionally the holiness of the Saints is itself further attested and confirmed by the testimony of the stigmata of the Crucified stamped by God visibly on the body of His elect. The case of the Belgian *stigmatizée,* Louise Lateau, will not be beyond the recollection of the older readers of these pages, while the youngest will have heard of the similar case of her the story of whose life is told in the present volume. Born at Lucca, Italy, 12 March, 1878, and dying there, 11 April, 1903, her short life of twenty-five years was uneventful as measured by human standards, but most wonderful for deeds of interior virtue, the divine measurement of value. Like her compatriot, Saint Catherine of

Siena, she bore the sacred stigmata of the Passion in her hands and feet and side, the puncturings of the Crown of Thorns on her head, while her body was gashed with the marks of the Scourging, her shoulder with the indenture of the Cross, and her knees with the rendings of the Falls. But all these signs of the Lord Jesus "which she bore visibly on her body were the outward indications of her inner habitual union with the Crucified." Passing in her ecstatic contemplations from His agony, sharing with Him literally the profuse outpouring of blood through the pores of her body, along the various stages of His Passion, she bore in her members the painful indications just enumerated. The narrative of all this is set down with full detail in the present volume by the pen of the late Passionist Father Germanus, her confessor. Himself a man of singular holiness and ripe experience in the spiritual life, a man, moreover, of profound mind, a philosopher and a theologian of recognized authority, Father Germanus was the privileged witness of the wonders he here describes. He studied them not simply with reverence, but with a critical intelligence. Moreover, he proved "the spirits whether they be from God", by subjecting the humility, obedience, and charity of their recipient to the severest tests.

Neither was Father Germanus at all unmindful of the various theories which recent students of nervous phenomena have proposed to account for the stigmata borne by certain saints and holy persons, such as Louise Lateau and Gemma Galgani; and not the least valuable as well as interesting portions of his work are the three critical dissertations forming the appendix, in which he proves, with no little learning and acumen, how inadequate are such nervous conditions as hysteria and hypnotism, as well as spiritistic agencies, to explain the extraordinary things that happened to Gemma. Had the volume nothing to offer but these three dissertations it would be well worth while, but it has, besides, the elements of personal interest and of spiritual edification and inspiration, exhaling from a life of wonderful holiness, on the heroic character of which it belongs of course only to the Mother of Saints officially to pronounce.

As Cardinal Gasquet, in the introduction, observes, a perusal of the volume cannot but make Catholics realize the nearness of the supernatural—"that God is ever with the world He has created, and that even in this materialistic age His arm is not shortened, however much our vision may be restricted by our surroundings". The wonderfulness of God in His saints is nowhere more manifest than in His dealings with this maiden of Lucca, and with the transcendancy of that wonderfulness we must leave some of the events, her doings and sayings, set down in this volume—phenomena of which our limited sight sees no explanation, and which our colder Northern taste would rather pass over.

Literary Chat.

Occasion has been offered and gladly improved many times of recent years to say a deserved word of praise concerning the *Month* and the *Irish Monthly*, published by the Jesuit Fathers in London and in Dublin respectively. The former is to be congratulated on the new vigor it is putting forth, after a career of fifty serene and fruitful years. A renewal of life in this excellent Catholic review is discernible both in the *actualité* of its contents, in its more vivacious tone, the new and useful departments added to it of late, and in the brighter dress in which it presents itself for a new welcome every month. The old friends grow dearer as the years speed on, and so does the *Month* as its numbers multiply, and we are sure that those who will take the means of getting acquainted with it, will find it a true friend. Now that there is an American agent (Devin-Adair Co., New York City) of the magazine who will be glad to act as introducer, it will not be so hard as aforetime to get on reading terms with a monthly review that is a standard of literary and Catholic excellence.

It would be a source of pleasure to know that any words of ours had helped to increase the circulation of the *Month*, as a substantial token of our good wishes on the occasion of the golden jubilee of this good tree which for fifty years has been "yielding its fruits every month, and the leaves of the tree were for the healing of the nations". *Ad multos annos, plurimosque annos!*

Whatever grounds Catholics may have had in former days for complaining of the literature furnished them by their publishers, such grounds are fast disappearing. His would be a hard taste to satisfy that would not find in the recent cornucopia of the Catholic press abundant matter to feed both mind and heart—nutriment, moreover, furnished in appetizing shape and at prices accommodated to the humblest pecuniary limitations. Attention has been repeatedly called in these pages to the publications of the *Catholic Library*—those neat little volumes, treating of such a variety of subjects, and procurable at so small an outlay of money. The best of the old things as well as the new are appearing on its lists. The second, the concluding, volume on the Mass by Father Herbert Lucas, S.J., has recently been added (No. 7). Together, the two volumes constitute a solid, comprehensive, and readable treatise on the Holy Sacrifice, a treatise that, while moderate in compass, is adequate to the needs and tastes of the average Catholic intelligence. The theology, history, and liturgy of the Mass are here expounded in a degree and style that leave nothing to be desired (B. Herder, St. Louis).

The "Catholic Library" moreover provides not only the best of the old things, but new things that are best concerning the old. It is interesting and instructive, for instance, to be transported back into parochial life as it passed its troubled days in Elizabethan England, when the people hardly knew to what religious camp they belonged, shifted and dragooned as they had been and were from one side to the other, according to the caprice or ambition of their political rulers. It is a vivid picture of those fluctuating conditions that is presented by Professor Kennedy in No. 8 of the "Library," entitled *Parish Life under Queen Elizabeth*. The author modestly styles his work an introductory study, and justly so from the mere standpoint of volume, for the booklet contains just eight-score pages. From the point of view, however, of quality and effectiveness, it covers the ground so comprehensively that the general reader will feel that he has got just what he wants. He is enabled to see quite distinctly how things stood in the Elizabethan parishes. Perhaps a passage or two may be appositely cited here as suggestive of some aspects of the times, that help to explain the change of religion in England. "A contemporary State paper says that 'the Commonwealth was diseased by the poverty of the Queen; the penury of the noblemen and their poverty; the

wealth of the meaner sort; the dearth of things; the divisions within the realm; the wars (with France and Scotland); want of justice; want of good captains and soldiers; all things dear; excess in meat, drink and apparel; divisions among ourselves'"—and so on.

Within such a social and political environment, it is hardly to be wondered at that "parish life . . . was in no healthy state. Lack of respect for authority was evident in clerical life, and in the parish services. Religious differences were accentuated by penal laws. Moral standards did not exist. The entire local government was honeycombed with abuses. There was no such thing as privacy. Spying was not only common, but was encouraged. Education was in the widest sense neglected. Genuine religion was so uncommon as to be almost negligible. A general irresponsibility characterized the various grades of society. . . ." The details of the picture are wrought out in the book before us, and from it all the conclusion is obvious that "whatever may be said of Elizabethan England in its relation to nationality, foreign affairs, and literature, it must be confessed that the state of parish life was deplorable", and this not only to the Catholic eye, but likewise "to the honest Puritan at home", to him also "the parishes of England were little better than heathen".

The most recent issues of the "Catholic Library" are (No. 10) *The Religious Poems of Richard Crashaw* and *St. Bernardino, the People's Preacher*, about which something will be said later.

Not the least encouraging sign of healthy Catholic literature is its hagiographical constituents. The multiplication of biographies of the Saints in recent times is remarkable. The deservedly well-known series of "The Saints" is periodically passing over from the French into English; the beautiful Notre Dame Series grows apace. The story of *St. Louis, King of France* (1215-1270) is probably not the latest issue in this excellent series, having been published last year, but it is a narrative which loses none of its interest in the lapse of a twelvemonth. Edifying as a biography of the saintly king, it is no less instructive as an historical sketch of the thirteenth century and the Crusades (B. Herder, St. Louis).

Recent accessions to the Standard-Bearers of the Faith: *St. Columba, Apostle of Scotland*, by F. A. Forbes, and *St. Catherine of Siena*, by the same author, are two little volumes whose neat make-up pleases the eye, while their charming style cannot fail to win readers older than the children to whom they are primarily addressed. Happy children for whom are provided such bright and wholesome things of mind and heart! (B. Herder, St. Louis; Brodie & Co., London).

Butler's *Lives of the Saints* belongs of course to the standards of its class. The abridged edition in one handy volume of some four hundred pages commends itself for its succinct biographies and the pious reflections appended to each, the volume thus combining in one the services of meditation and spiritual reading (Benziger Bros., New York).

Father Paschal Robinson, the scholarly Franciscan and Professor at the Catholic University of America, has recently been made the recipient of two distinct honors which show the high place to which his accomplishments in the wide world of letters have raised him. The one comes from Rome and confers on him the degree of Doctor of Sacred Theology (S.T.D.), whilst the other is from London where last month he was "inaugurated" as a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society (F.R.H.S.). It is a pleasure to record this double and well-merited appreciation of the literary work of our American Friar and esteemed contributor.

The Pilgrimage of Grace, by John G. Rowe, is an interestingly written account of an armed movement by the men of Yorkshire in the days of Henry VIII, designed to check the wanton suppression of monasteries and the confiscation of church property. The principal hero in the tale is Robert Aske, known in the historic documents of his time as "chief captain of the Conventual Assembly". His prudence, courage, and well-known integrity caused him to succeed for a time in bringing the king to make certain concessions to the Catholic party; but the treachery of Sir Titus Coote, Norfolk, and others eventually defeated the noble champions of right, and their leader was condemned to be hanged in chains at York Castle. The author sketches graphically the campaign of honor of Robert Aske and his associates, and incidentally throws light upon a character hardly sufficiently known as one of the prominent actors of the so-called Reformation period in England, although, as the author points out in his preface, he is worthy of a place as martyr for the Catholic Faith, to be ranked with the Blessed Thomas More and Blessed John Fisher (Benziger Bros., New York).

The principal figure in *The Shield of Silence,* by M. E. Henry-Ruffin (Benziger Bros.), is a priest, Fr. Marion, who by his prudent safeguarding of the seal of confession baffles the efforts of the police to avenge a murder committed in the heat of passion by a Spanish woman against the man who had wronged her, but who before dying is able to make amends at the same time binding the priest to shield the reputation of his victim and her child. The story is interesting and gives considerable insight into Spanish life, although the chief scenes and actors are American.

An abridgment of the *New Standard Dictionary* has recently been published bearing the title *The Comprehensive Standard Dictionary of the English Language.* Within the compass of 680 pages it defines and explains 48,000 words and phrases, and gives 1,000 pictorial illustrations. It therefore justifies its title, while its convenient size merits for it a place near one's elbow on the desk (Funk & Wagnalls, New York).

Among the new books for juveniles is Mary T. Waggaman's *Lisbeth.* It is a story of the First Communion of an orphan, whose little soul grew true and brave under the tutelage of the good nuns and the innocent companionship she found in the parish school. The tale is very well told (P. J. Kenedy & Sons).

Leaves from the Note-Book of a Missionary is the title of a neatly-printed volume in which the author, Father William Hannon, has gathered together the records of a wide and varied experience in priestly life. The stories and observations make interesting reading and also offer suggestive material for illustration in sermons or other discourses (B. Herder, St. Louis).

A most attractive and no less informing volume recently published by Sands & Co., of London (B. Herder, St. Louis), bears the title *Footprints of the Ancient Scottish Church* by Michael Barrett, O.S.B. Most of the matter appeared previously in the *American Catholic Quarterly Review* and the *Ave Maria,* but is withal of such permanent value as to deserve the unified form in which it is here presented. The old cathedrals and collegiate churches, the hospitals, fairs, holy wells, the cultus of Our Lady—under these headings is collected a large number of facts and deeds both informing and inspiring.

It is worth knowing, for instance, that when the Reformation broke out in Scotland there were at the very least ninety hospitals in the land. This is quite a respectable number for a population that counted then probably only about half a million, a figure that does not come up to the population of such a city as present-day Glasgow.

Books Received.

SCRIPTURAL.

REALIA BIBLICA geographica, naturalia, archeologica, quibus compendium introductionis completur et illustratur auctore Martino Hagen, S.I. P. Lethielleux, Parisiis. 1914. Pp. 728. Prix, 10 *fr.*

THE CULTURE OF ANCIENT ISRAEL. By Carl Heinrich Cornill, Professor of Old Testament History in the University of Halle. The Open Court Publishing Co., Chicago and London. 1914. Pp. 179. Price, $1.50.

THEOLOGICAL AND DEVOTIONAL.

IUS "ORTHODOXUM" RUSSORUM respectu Juris Ecclesiae Romano-Catholicae consideratum (cum una tabula Gentis Ruthenae). Dr. Nicolaus Biernacki. Posnaniae: apud Bibliop. s. t. "S. Adalberti"; Cracoviae: Gebethner et Co.; Friburgi (Br.); Herder; Romae: Pustet. 1914. Pp. 114. Pretium, 4 *L.*

DE ESSENTIA SACRAMENTI ORDINIS. Disquisitio Historico-Theologica. Auctore G. M. Card. Van Rossum, C.SS.R. B. Herder, St. Louis. 1914. Pp. 200. Pretium, $0.75.

VOCATIONS. By the Rev. William Doyle, S.J. The Irish Messenger, Dublin. Pp. 43. Price, $0.05.

THE HISTORICAL CHRIST; or, An Investigation of the Views of Mr. J. M. Robertson, Dr. A. Drews, and Prof. W. B. Smith. By Fred. C. Conybeare, M.A., F.B.A., Honorary Fellow of University College, Oxford; Hon. LL.D. of the University of St. Andrews; Hon. Doctor of Theology of Giessen. Issued for the Rationalist Press Association, Limited. The Open Court Publishing Co., Chicago. 1914. Pp. ix-235. Price, $1.50.

PAROLES D'ENCOURAGEMENT. Extraites des Lettres de Saint François de Sales, Docteur de l'Église. Pierre Téqui, Paris. 1914. Pp. vii-237. Prix, 1 *fr.*

FIGURES DE PÈRES ET MÈRES CHRÉTIENS. Par M. l'Abbé H. Bels, Aumônier. Deuxième Série (Du Ier au XIXe siècle). Pierre Téqui, Paris. 1914. Pp. 248. Prix, 2 *fr.*

NOTICE BIOGRAPHIQUE SUR M. LAVAL, Ancien pasteur protestant de Condé-sur-Moireau et du Chefresne, converti au Catholicisme. Raisons Péremptoires pour tout Protestant de se faire Catholique, pour tout Catholique de rester ce qu'il est. Par M. Laval. Pierre Téqui, Paris. 1914. Pp. 57. Prix, 0 *fr.* 20; par poste, 0 *fr.* 25.

IM DIENSTE DER HIMMELSKÖNIGEN. Vorträge und Skizzen für Marianischen Kongregationen. Gesamelt von Peter Sinthern, S.J. Herausgegeben von der Zentralstelle für Marianische Kongregationen in Wien. B. Herder, St. Louis. 1914. Seiten 307. Preis, $1.10.

A SIMPLE CONFIRMATION BOOK. By Mother Mary Loyola. The International Catholic Truth Society, Brooklyn, N. Y. Pp. 48. Price, $0.05.

CHRISTENLEHREN. Von Dr. Hermann Siebert. Zweiter Theil: Gnadenmittel und Gebote. B. Herder, St. Louis. 1914. Seiten 103. Preis, $0.50.

CLAUDE BERNARD: DIT LE PAUVRE PRETRE (1588-1641). Par le Commandeur de Broqua, Camérier Secret de Cape et d'Épée de S. S. Pie X, Membre et Lauréat de plusieurs sociétés savantes, Postulateur de la Cause de Claude Bernard. Deuxième édition. P. Lethielleux, Paris. 1914. Pp. xv-270. Prix, 3 *fr.*

JÉSUS VIVANT DANS LE PRETRE. Considérations sur la Grandeur et la Sainteté du Sacerdoce. Par le R. P. Millet, de la Compagnie de Jésus. Quatrième édition. Pierre Téqui, Paris. 1914. Pp. xii-420. Prix, 3 *fr.* 50.

MISCELLANEOUS.

POLLY DAY'S ISLAND. By Isabel J. Roberts, author of *The Little Girl from Back East.* Benziger Bros., New York. 1914. Pp. 234. Price, $0.85.

IDEALS AND REALITIES. Essays by Edith Pearson. R. & T. Washbourne, London; Benziger Bros., New York. 1914. Pp. 149.

IRELAND AT LOURDES, 1913. By the Rev. Thomas McGeoy, P.P. Browne & Nolan, Dublin. 1914. Pp. 72. Price, 1/- *net.*

THE SHIELD OF SILENCE. By M. E. Henry-Ruffin, L.H.D., author of *The North Star,* etc. Benziger Bros., New York. 1914. Price, $1.35 *net.*

THE UPS AND DOWNS OF MARJORIE. By Mary T. Waggaman. Benziger Bros., New York. 1914. Pp. 208. Price, $0.45.

MONKSBRIDGE. By John Ayscough, author of *Gracechurch, San Celestino,* etc. Longmans, Green & Co., New York. 1914. Pp. 345. Price, $1.35 *net.*

IN QUEST OF ADVENTURE. By Mary E. Mannix, author of *The Peril of Dionysio, As True as Gold, The Children of Cupa,* etc. Benziger Bros., New York. 1914. Pp. 173. Price, $0.45.

THE PARTING OF THE WAYS. By Florence Gilmore, author of *A Romance of Old Jerusalem.* B. Herder, St. Louis. 1914. Price, $0.60.

THE SECRET CITADEL. By Isabel C. Clarke, author of *By the Blue River, Prisoners' Years, Nomad Songs,* etc. Benziger Bros., New York. 1914. Pp. 416. Price, $1.35 *net.*

BALLADS OF CHILDHOOD. By Michael Earls, S.J. Benziger Bros., New York. 1914. Pp. 84. Price, $1.00 *net.*

THE CONVERT'S ROSARY. By Alice M. Gardiner. P. J. Kenedy & Sons, New York. 1913. Pp. 62.

PERILOUS SEAS. By E. Gallienne Robin, author of *Jacquine of the Hut, Luce, the Story of a Mother, Christine, a Guernsey Girl.* Benziger Bros., New York. 1914. Pp. 350.

REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONER OF EDUCATION for the Year ending 30 June, 1913. Volume I. (Whole Number 582.) Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. 1914. Pp. liv-931.

THE WATERS OF TWILIGHT. By C. C. Martindale, S.J. Longmans, Green & Co., New York and London. 1914. Pp. 223. Price, $1.20 *net.*

ALTAR FLOWERS AND HOW TO GROW THEM. A Concise Handbook on the Selection and Culture of White Flowers for the Service of the Church. With Additional Notes on the Most Suitable Red Species and Varieties. By Herbert Jones, National Amateur Gardeners' Association. With a Preface by the Rev. David Dunford. Benziger Bros., New York. 1914. Pp. xix-107. Price, $0.90 *net.*

LANDESGÖTTER UND HEXEN. Deutsches Kulturbild aus dem sechzehnten Jahrhundert von Konrad von Bolanden. (*Deutsche Kulturbilder.* Siebenter Band.) Fr. Pustet & Co., New York. 1914. Seiten 272. Preis, $0.60.

HER ONLY LOVE. A Drama in Four Acts. By the Rev. P. Kaenders. B. Herder, St. Louis. 1914. Pp. 40. Price, $0.25.

WHAT SHALL I BE? A Chat with Young People. By the Rev. Francis Cassilly, S.J. The American Press, New York. 1914. Pp. 70.

SAUVONS NOS AMES! Par l'Abbé Charles Grimaud, Professeur à l'Externat des Enfants-Nantais. Pierre Téqui, Paris. 1914. Pp. 277. Prix, 2 *fr.*

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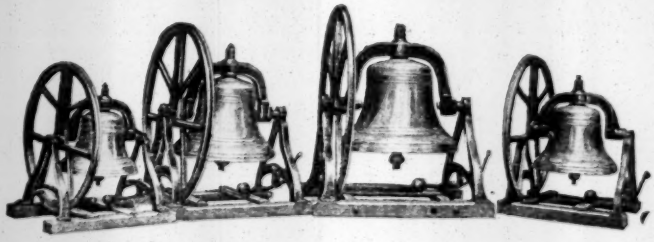

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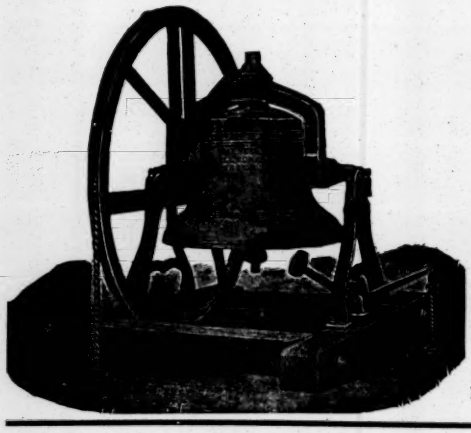

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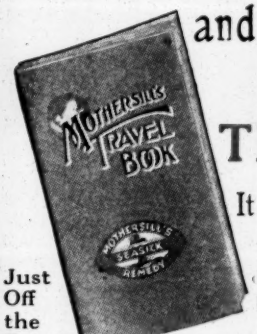

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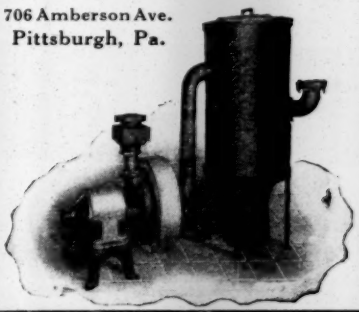

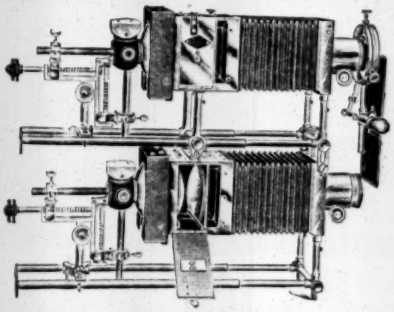

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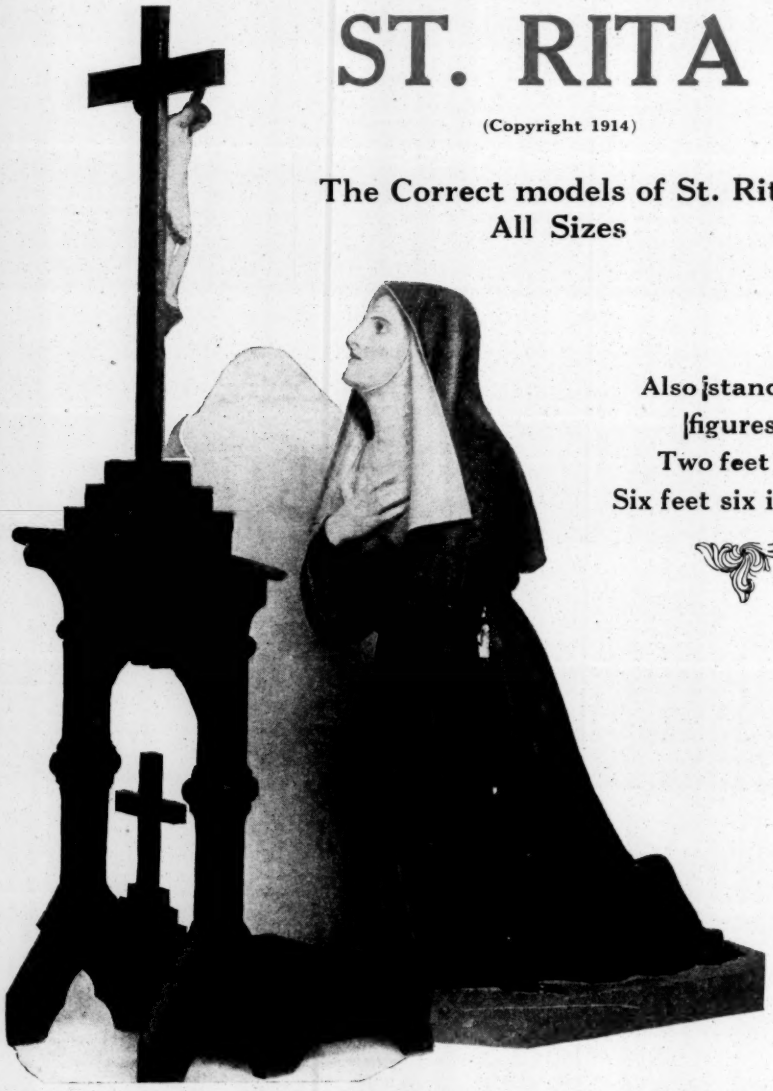

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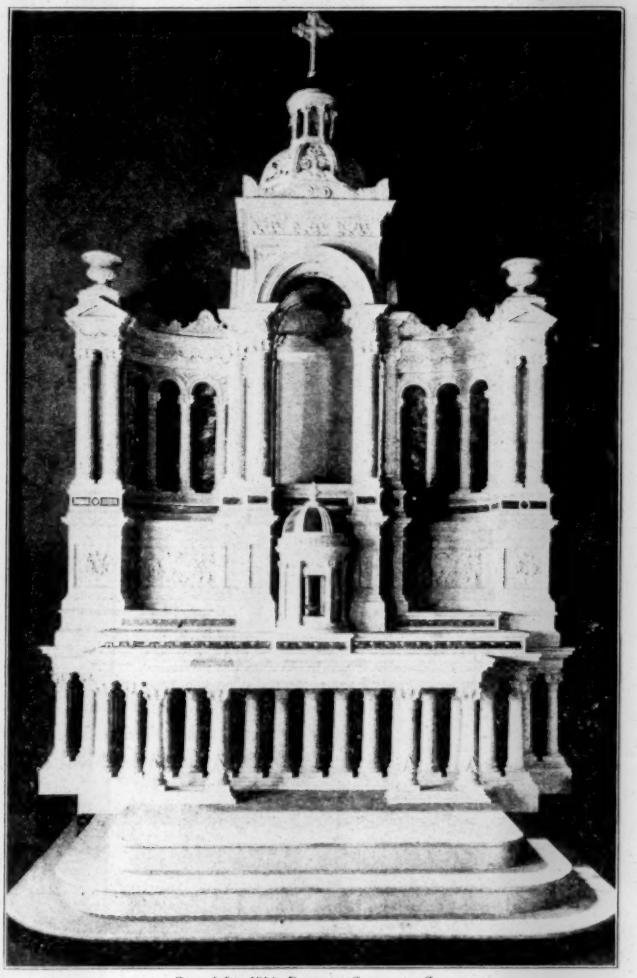

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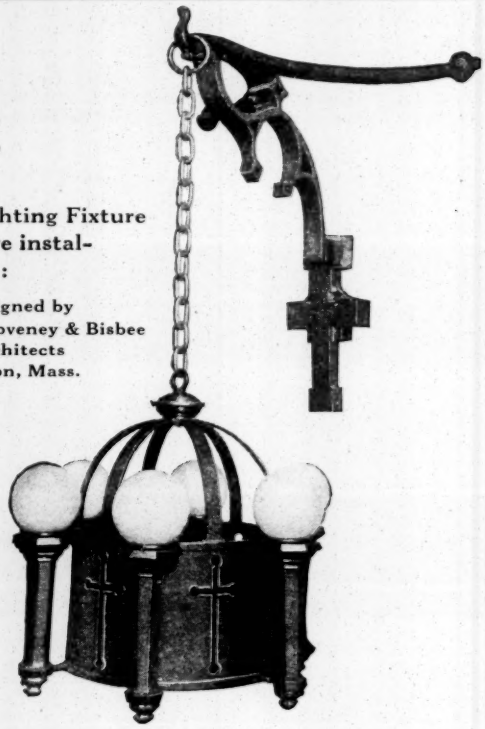

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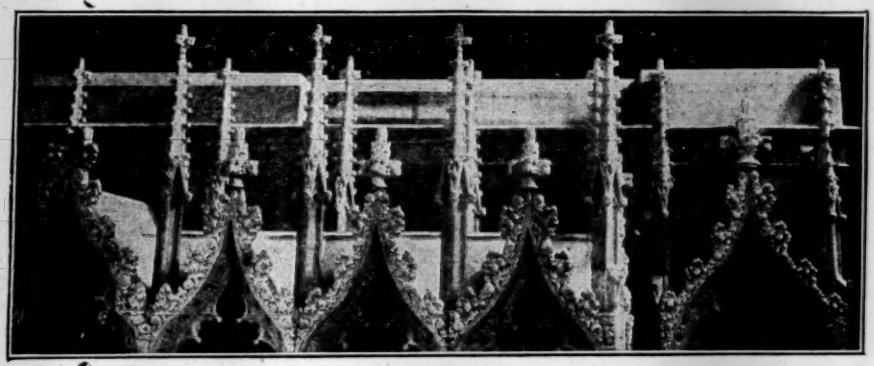

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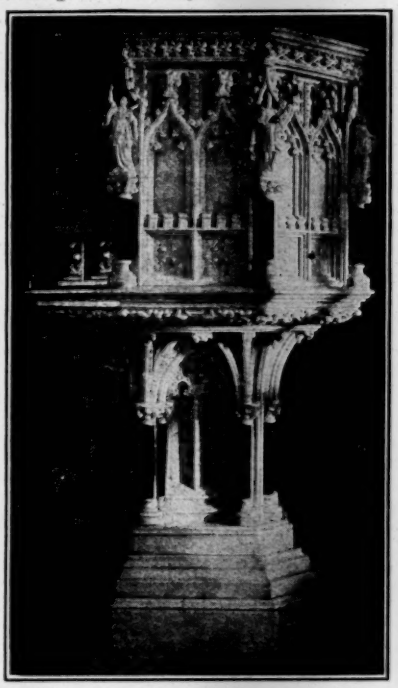

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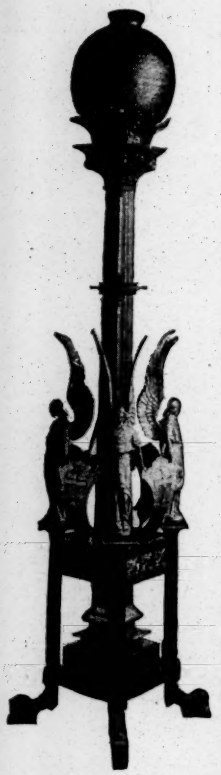

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